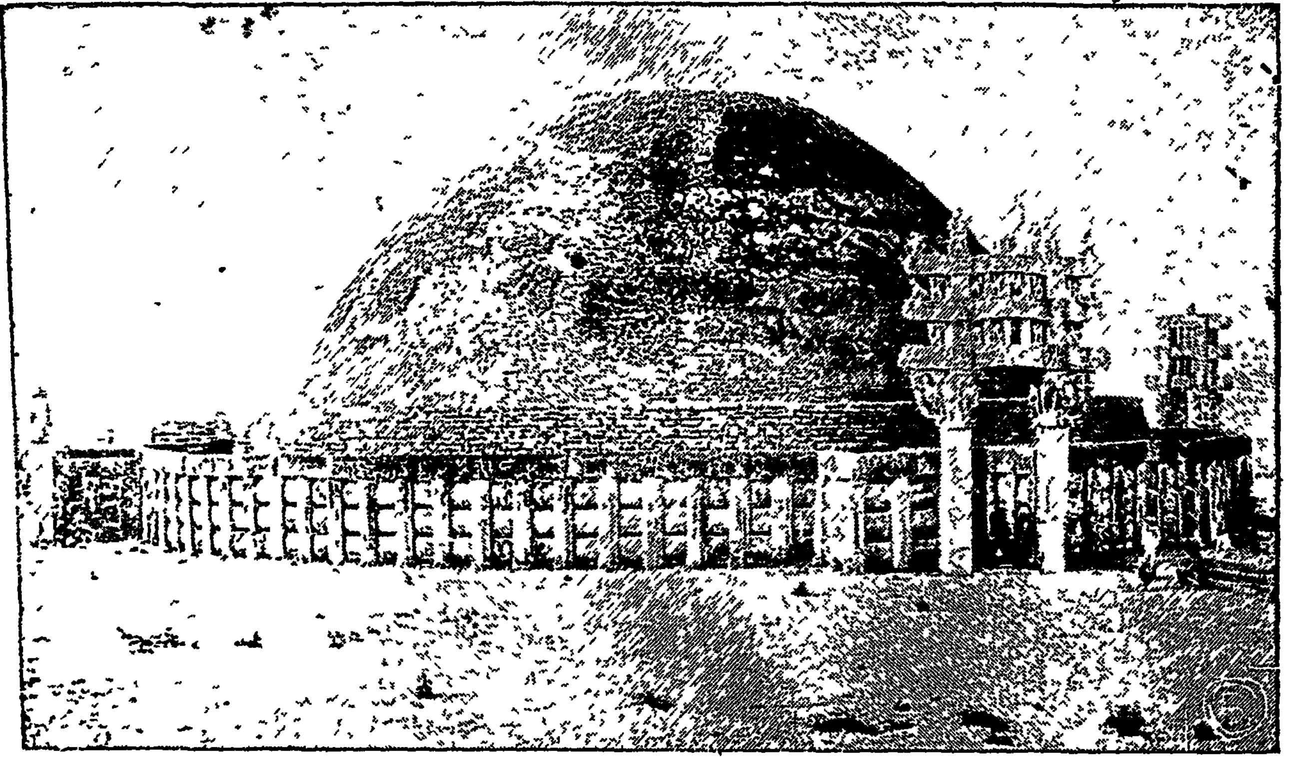
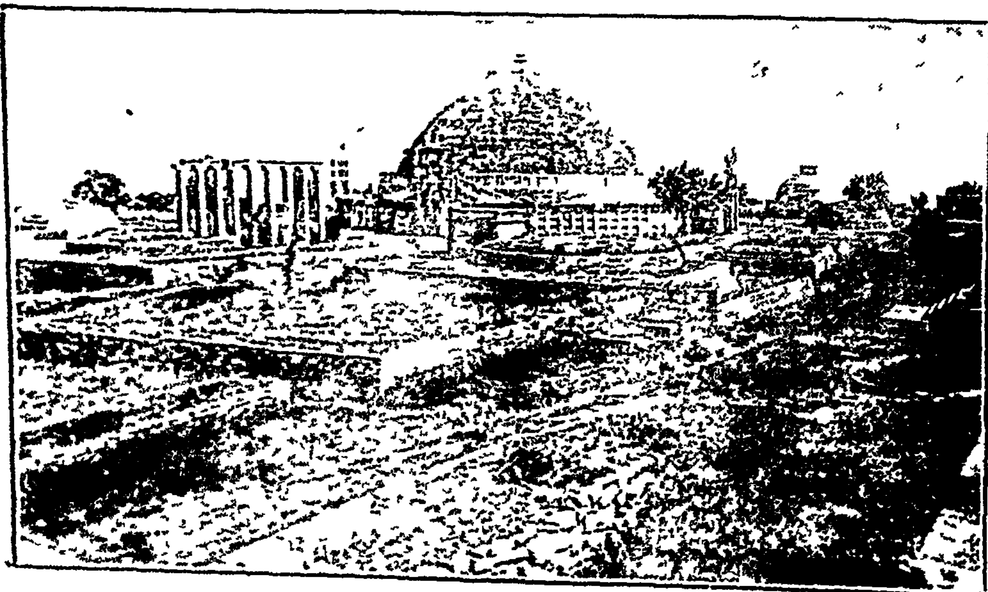


Nirwāṇ of Lord Mahāvīr
( Arhate – namo – namah )

Pp. 186–8



The above one but showing a different view

# ANCIENT INDIA

History of Ancient India for 1000 years in four volumes

[ *From 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.* ]

## Volume II

*A marvellous array of wholly new and eye-opening theories, substantiated with facts and figures from coins, inscriptions and authoritative writers*

By

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L. M. & S.

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# PREFACE

I have divided the preface into two parts. The first part consists of general observations; the second part treats of matters pertaining to this volume.

(A) No book serves any useful purpose if it does not contain anything novel in any branch of knowledge. The novelty can be of two kinds:—(1) New ideas and new facts unthought of and unpublished hitherto; and (2) Old facts given a new interpretation. As the book bristles with novelties of both kinds, a heavy shower of criticism, favourable and unfavourable is only natural. Anticipating this, I have already explained and answered many of them in the preface to vol. I. Some more explanations are given below.

Some critics have said that only those pieces of evidence are given in the book, which supports the theory or conclusion arrived at by me, and that those going against it are eschewed. I agree that the method of stating pieces of evidence of both kinds is more preferable to the one adopted by me; but it remains to be stated, that in doing so, the size of the book would be much greater than it is at present. The present size is not small. Again, that method is more suitable to a treatise on one particular point, but would rather be unsuitable to a book on history, which is expected to be a connected, concise and consistent narration of facts, with due attention to causes and effects. Evidence to the contrary is not wholly debarred from this book. As instances, I draw the readers's attention to (1) The dynastic list of the kings of Avanti, vol. I (2) Which Udayan died without a son, vol. I (3) The family and race of Chandragupta, vol. II (4) Chandragupta's relation with Nand IX, vol. II (5) Can Chandragupta be identified with Sandrecottus? vol. II etc. Those who hold the opinion that I have stated conclusions and theories, which are not properly supported by facts and figures, are quite welcome to disprove them, by arguments and evidence to the

contrary. Little useful purpose will be served by merely denouncing things with which they do not agree. A sane person would either state evidence to the contrary and disprove them or would accept them as true. Again, I have adhered to the definition of history as given by Mr. Vincent Smith. "A body of history must be supported upon a skeleton of chronology and without chronology history is impossible." The book contains dynastic lists, chronologies and dates of events, wherever they are necessary. I, therefore, request my critics to go through these volumes in a spirit of dispassionate search of the truth, and not accuse me of any charges, unless they can advance reasons and solid pieces of evidence to prove them.

A learned writer has said:—"The aim of history is to reveal the truth. Only that history is real, which has truth as its basis. Its aim is realized only by strict conformity to truth. No nation can afford to forget history of this kind. Partiality destroys history." Another writer has said:—"An impartial history of India is impossible without a thorough study of Jaina literature." If we cast a glance at any book, non–Jaina in character, we shall nearly always find, that it is crowded with praises of that particular religion. We would not mind them, as long as the term 'historical' is not foisted upon them. But a book on history contains truth, and nothing but the whole truth. Partiality to any religion is suicidal. Truth, as a Greek scholar has said, is as piercing as a sword; and it is absolutely impartial. I can assert with confidence, that I have written these volumes in strict conformity to this standard. If, in doing so, I have offended any one, the only way open to me, is to ask for forgiveness and to add that, no statement in these volumes is made, with a view to wound the feelings of any one. I am sure, that a cool and dispassionate reading of the book, will convince any one of this.

It is a convention that the "Foreword" to a volume is written by a scholar of repute and fame; so that the writer would enjoy some immunity from showers and attacks of criticisms from all sides. I had an inclination of the kind; but after a few unsuccessful efforts, I thought it fit to do without it, and rested content with

the idea that every novel theory was loaded with pieces of evidence supporting it.

I have given names of authors, whom I have quoted and from whom I had reasons to differ. I have to state that none of the names is quoted with a view to derision. I have differed from them with the intention of finding and establishing truth. If any writer finds anything, which he thinks rather discorteous about him, I request him to forgive me, only as a beginner in writing books on history.

(B) Preface in connection with the present volume:—

In vol. I, an account has been given of the sixteen kingdoms that existed in ancient India. Then were given the accounts of the Śiśunāga and the Nanda dynasties that ruled over Magadh, the largest, the most powerful, and the most important kingdom of those times. The present volume contains an account of the Mauryan dynasty. Most of the books concerned with ancient India contains accounts of this dynasty. Several of them are devoted solely to an account of it. Many of them, however, re-iterate the same material in different forms and many others are little more than conglomerations of legends and anecdotes about it. The present volume, as the reader will find, gives a connected and consistent account of the dynasty and contains much novel material and many new theories.

The faith, that the Mauryan kings followed, exerted very great influence upon their policies, and was not without its repercussions in every field of activity. No historian can afford to leave this out, in an account of the dynasty. In fact, many things connected with the dynasty, can be understood in their true perspective only, if we devote proper attention to it.

It is a general belief that Chandragupta was a Jain, Bindusār a follower of the Vedic religion, and Aśoka a Buddhist. As the gospel of the Vedic religion is said to have been revealed by the Almighty himself, we cannot trace it to a human founder and give his account, but Buddhism was founded by Buddha, and Jainism was revivified in those times by Mahāvīr. Hence their accounts and influence exerted by them over the people of

those times, are given their due place in the book. Here is not a place for the discussion of the doctrines or philosophies preached and propounded by them. I have therefore rested content with giving an account of the social and political changes wrought by their personal influences and by the doctrines preached by them.

To any student of ancient Indian history, the rock and pillar edicts serve as irrefutable and absolutely reliable pieces of evidence. The kings of the Mauryan dynasty were authors of the most of such edicts, that are found to-day. Several books solely devoted to them have been published. Their contribution to the cogent formation of ancient history of India is invaluable, as also of the coins. Most of the writers on the Mauryan dynasty have not given any account of the coins, because none were found that could be connected with it. I followed the same plan at the first; further research, however, convinced me that the dynasty had its own coins. So I have given an account of such coins in the present volume.

The reader will find, that the accounts of coins and of the two religious prophets, Mahāvīr and Buddha, have been interwoven with the accounts of the Maurya kings, as they really were in those times. The family name of the first disciple of Mahāvīr was Gautam. Buddha has also been known as Gautam. Writers on Indian history committed the mistake of taking them to have been the names of one and the same individual, due to this similarity of names. Most of them, thus misguided, came to the conclusion that Jainism was merely a branch of Buddhism. Later on, however, this misunderstanding was clarified and the two Gautams were taken as representatives of two different religions, which were independent of each other. Further research has made me come to the conclusion that Buddhism was a branch of Jainism. Its founder was first a Jaina monk; finding, however, it very difficult to practise all the rules and regulations of the Jaina order, he left it and founded his own faith, which is comprised of the philosophy and doctrines of Jainism with a few changes here and there. All the pieces of evidence supporting this theory have been given and explained in details in the book. Several signs on the

coins, originally connected with Jainism, were misinterpreted as belonging to Buddhism, due to similarity between the two. All these signs have been proved as belonging to Jainism in the book and the problem has been discussed in details, with numerous proofs supporting the theory.

Two chapters in the book have been devoted to an account of the coins. The first of them contains general information on the coins, and the second gives a detailed account of every coin with historical conclusions to be deduced from them. The interpretations of other writers are also given side by side with my own interpretations, in order that the reader may be able to compare and contrast them and draw his own conclusions. It remains to be stated here, that very few publications have been out about Indian coins of very ancient times. Only three or four books are known to me, dealing with the coins of the time with which we are concerned. Extracts from them and opinions of their writers are given in the book. All the coins connected with the period are described in the volume. I hope that, the reader will find these chapters on coins very interesting.

No reader need labour under the erroneous conception that I am partial towards Jainism and that I have dwelt largely upon it at the cost of other faiths. As I have already stated in the preface to vol. I, I have come to the conclusion, based on solid pieces of evidence, that all the principal kings of India, right from the 10th century B. C. to the times of the Mauryas, were followers of Jainism. All my subsequent researches into rock-edicts, coins and a study of the books of the scholars belonging to other faiths, have convinced me, all the more of the truth of the theory. In propounding this theory, I have no ulterior motive except the search for and establishment of truth, which is the duty and goal of a historian. Even the Mohan-jā-ḍero excavations, which represent the civilization of nearly 2500 years ago, reveal that Jaina religion and culture prevailed during those times. The seals and coins excavated from its ruins have convinced the archeological experts of this truth. ( A paragraph is given about Mohan-jā-ḍero at the end of Chapter II ).

Now I turn to other details in the book:—

(1) Hitherto, it has been a commonly accepted belief among the scholars, that Aśoka and Priyadarśin were names of the same individual. Hence those edicts and other relics which really go to the credit of Priyadarśin, have been mistakenly ascribed to Aśoka. Hence the edicts—large and small—and the relics, which have astonished the whole world and which were really erected by Priyadarśin, a staunch follower of Jainism, have been ascribed to Buddhism, because Aśoka was a Buddhist. I have proved the fact that Aśoka and Priyadarśin were different kings and that all the rock and pillar edicts and the other relics are connected with Priyadarśin and consequently with Jainism. As far as Jains are concerned, they will find that some of the places of Jaina pilgrimage have been hitherto unknown to them, because they had been taken to be connected with Buddhism.

(2) Scholars have identified Sandrecottus with Chandragupta. I have proved that it was not so and that Sandrecottus can be identified with Aśoka. In doing so, I have quoted an extract from Strabo's diary, and have shown how and where, it has been misinterpreted. When once we accept the conclusion that Sandrecottus was Aśoka, several anomalies in the episodes in his life which have been described in the Buddhist books, and which rather falsify and go against the statements given in his own rock-edicts, at once disappear, and his life is clarified of all such contradictory details and conflicting opinions. Some of these anomalies are given below:—(a) Aśoka changed his faith before his coronation ceremony was performed; while it is stated in the rock-edicts that he changed his faith 3 to 9 years after his annointment. (b) He massacred his queen and numerous other persons, and started the cruel institution named "Narkālay;" the edicts, on the other hand, credit him with love and kindness towards all mankind. These are merely two of the many instances. All these anomalies would automatically disappear, if it is accepted that Sandrecottus was Aśoka.

(3) The author of Arthaśāstra, and prime-minister of Chandragupta has been given many names:—Chāṇākya, Chāṇikya,

Kauṭilya, Kuṭilya, and others. All these are false names. The dates and the places of his birth and death and the conditions prevailing during his times, have been included in the book.

(4) New light is thrown on the life of Bindusār and dark clouds of false theories which surrounded him, have been dispelled.

(5) A clear account of the invasion of Alexander the Great, together with the political condition of the territory subdued by him and the rule of his generals over it, has been given. A separate chapter is devoted to this account. No book on Indian history has dealt with this subject.

Part III ends here. Part IV consists of the accounts of Aśoka and Priyadarśin.

(1) To prove that Aśoka and Priyadarśin were different individuals, their dates have been fixed, based on the authority of Buddhist books and the dates of other contemporary kings. These things are very briefly discussed in this volume. For more details, the reader is to refer to my "Life of Priyadarśin."

(2) After this fixing of the dates, a connected account is given of Aśoka's life, together with necessary details of the faith that he followed; hence the position has also been clarified.

(3) Thus, when Aśoka's account has been clearly given and the episodes connected with him are thus sifted, we are in a position to present clearly and cogently an account of Priyadarśin. The extent of his territory, the policy of administration adopted by him, his relations with foreigners, his love for and devotion to his faith, have all been clearly described in three full chapters.

(4) The first of these chapters is connected with his personal affairs. An account is given of his queens, his children, his conquest tour and of many other interesting things. How he subdued Tibet, Khotān and central Asia, why the Chinese wall was built—all these things have been described in this chapter.

(5) The second chapter contains an account of his previous birth and its significance with relation to his life. After his coming to know of his former birth, he began to be very strongly inclined towards religious deeds like, sending missionaries in every part of the country, in and out of India, erecting rock and pillar edicts,

and taking part into every activity conducive to the general welfare of humanity.

(6) His empire is described in the last chapter. An account is given of his administrative policy. He had divided his empire into nearly two dozen provinces and had appointed governors over every one of them. Short accounts have also been given of these governors and of the provinces under them. Then follows an account of his monuments, specially of his rock and pillar edicts, Stūpās and Colossal figures. It is a wonder that all the books on history are quite silent on the last two items. Eventually he has been compared with emperors like Charlamaigne, Cæsar, Napoleon, Akbar, Jesus, Buddha, Aristotle and Bacon, and it has been established that there was such a harmonious union of the qualities of all of them in him, that none of them can stand comparison with him, though some of them may surpass him in a single virtue. Then is discussed the problem whether the eastern (Indian) civilization conquered the western or vice versa.

The next chapter is devoted to the discussion of the causes that led to the sudden and catastrophic decline and fall of the Mauryan empire. Then, as usual, is given an account of the extent of the territory of every Mauryan king.

At the beginning of every chapter is given a synopsis of the contents of that chapter. Every point discussed is indicated by a title at its beginning. At the top of every page is given the title indicating the matter discussed in it.

The book is divided into four volumes, of which the present volume is the most important, due to the following causes—(1) It contains a detailed account of all the coins connected with the time with which we are concerned. (2) Aśoka and Priyadarśin have been proved to have been different individuals and all the rock and pillar edicts, the gigantic idols and many other relics, which have been mistakenly ascribed to Buddhism, have been proved to be connected with Priyadarśin, and so, with Jainism. (3) The theory of identifying Sandrecottus with Chandragupta has been disproved. Several misapprehensions about the birth, date, the birth-place and the various names of the author of Artha-

śāstra have been removed. (4) One whole chapter is devoted to the account of the invasion of Alexander the Great and the condition of the territory subdued by him, after his departure. All history books are silent on this point. (5) Accounts have been given of the lives of the two great prophets, Mahāvīr and Buddha, and of the signs, the relics and the edicts connected with them.

Four appendixes have been appended to the volume. (1) To whom can be applied the name, "Dharmāśoka". (2) The Sudarśan Lake. (3) Daśarath and Śāliśuk; both of whom were near relatives of Priyadarśin. (4) Jālauk, the famous king of Kāśmir, about whom all the history books have hitherto preserved silence. All these four appendices contain entirely novel material and especially the last two. In the second, the theory that the Sudarśan lake was dug by Kṣatrap Rudradāman has been disproved. In the first it has been proved that the name Dharmāśoka does not belong to the king, with whom it has hitherto been connected, but to quite another king.

At the end of the book are given, as usual, the dynastic and the chronological lists and the index. The last to be given are extracts from some of the opinions about the book.

Suggestions from readers are cordially invited.

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After the publication of these volumes, numerous criticisms, both in favour and against, have seen the light of the day. Favourable criticisms have not been mentioned here, because that might smack of self-praise and advertisement. Some of the adverse criticisms are stated below:—

(1) A review has appeared in the " Prasthān ", contributed by Durgāshanker Shastri. There is also a summary of the lecture delivered by him as the president of a section of the Literary conference held in Karachi.

Mr. Shastri has not spared any pains in almost calling me names and dubbing me as a religious bigot. So far these are concerned, I have nothing say, because they call for no answer. One thing in the volume seems to have enraged Mr. Shastri rather very much. He has severly questioned my right to interpret the

three verses of Hemchandra, the author of Pariśiṣtha Parva, written in connection with the rulers of Avanti, differently from the interpretation by Dr. Shantilal Shah. The reader will judge it for himself whether an author and a student of history has right or not, to forward his own interpretation of a particular piece of antiquity, provided he has given sufficient causes for doing so.

(2) Prof. Dolarray Mankad has reviewed the book in the report for 1936, of the "Gujarāti Sāhitya Sabhā".

Prof Mankad has penned his criticism in a masterly language. He has ascribed two drawbacks to me. One is, that details have incorporated, which should not have any place in a book on history. The second is the method of stating arguments and drawing conclusions from them. With reference to the first, it remains to be stated, that it has not yet been decided once for all, what should be and what should not be, given place in a historical treatise. I draw his attention to my preface to vol. I, and to a learned article—" Itihās num Pariśilan " in the Prasthān for Kartik, 1994. With regard to the second, I sought an opportunity to see him personally in Ahmedabad. It transpired from this meeting, that he had never cast his eyes upon the first volume. Possibly he might have never made the charges, had he gone through it. I saw him twice at his residence in Karachi with vol. I, but for want of time, he could not enlighten me on the point. Several letters have been written to him, but I have not been fortunate enough to receive any reply from him.

(3) Mr Zaveri, a contributor to the " Bombay Samachar, " has stated nearly thirty conclusions without forwarding any reasons for any of them. As nearly all of them tally with those stated by Indravijayasūri, I shall discuss them below.

(4) Indravijayasūri has been found to have been keenly interested in these volumes. The preface to vol. III, (Gujarati version) contains summary of his charges and strictures against the book. After that three other publications have come out in relation to the volumes. They are:—(a) A Review of " Prāchin Bhāratvarṣa "; (b) The Lion capital Pillar of Mathurā; and (c) Mahākṣatrap Rudradāman. All the three have been studied by me.

(a) The Review is studded with hard names for me. But they neither concern me nor perturb me. One thing, however, strikes me as rather strange. I fail to understand the cause of so much ire on his part. So have failed most of the readers.

The Sūriji is a great compiler and of a studious temperament. But he seems to be lacking the faculty of synthetic judgement. He seems never to have cared to look into the reasons advanced by me for all the new theories emanating from me. He seems to have discredited them, simply because they were novel and did not agree with current conclusions and beliefs.

(b) He seems to have circulated a letter Dt. 15-7-37 to twenty-three scholars of great repute, in connection with the Lion Capital Pillar. The letter may have contained a question to the effect, whether the pillar in question had any connection with Jainism. As most of the scholars were ignorant of the reasons stated for this theory, they replied unanimously that it had no connection with Jainism. Justice and fairness required that the Sūriji should have stated my reasons for the theory in his letter. Had he done so, I trust, that most of them would have answered just the other way.

(c) The pamphlet on Rudradāman requires correction and overhauling at every stage. Why does the Sūriji adhere to the conclusions of foreign scholars, eventhough there are cart-loads of evidence to the contrary? Why such mentality?

That he must have circulated a letter to different scholars in connection with these two questions, is clear from a letter by Prof. Ramchandra of the Calcutta Museum, dated 24-7-1937.

"With reference to your letter of the 15th inst., inquiring if the Mathura Lion Capital inscription contains any reference to Jaina affairs or names of Nahapana, Bhumak or Nanaka, I have to give you a reply in the negative."

The question is obviously related to the conclusions arrived at by me (though, I do not know from where he unearthed the the name Nanaka). May I ask him to point out, where I have made this reference? I have merely stated that Nahapān was a contemporary of Mahākṣatrapa Rājuval, who is mentioned in the Lion Capital Pillar. For this, I have quoted a passage from

J. B. B. R. S., New Ed. Vol. III, p. 61, (f. n. 13, pp. 234, vol. III). "It is obvious that Nahāpaṇ was a contemporary of Rājuval, the Mahākṣatrap of Mathurā." Numerous other pieces of evidence have also been given by me together with dates. The Sūriji should have taken note of all these things.

The Gujarati edition of the second volume has been reviewed by the Sūriji in the "Prasthāṇ" Pp. 270 to 281 (11 pages). The editor has printed it, as a separate article and has not given it a place in the review section. He has hurled several charges against the volume, without stating reasons for doing so. Strangely enough, to some of his doubts and questions the answers have already been given in the volume itself. He does not seem to have looked to them. One or two instances will suffice:—(1) We don't differ from each other as to the setting of the Gomaṭa idol. I have raised a doubt about the time of its being carved out. (2) Another instance refers to the Kalyāṇak of Mahāvīr. I agree with the Sūriji that its name is Pāvāpuri. The doubt raised by me pertains to the situation of the place. Such instances can be multiplied. At several places he has severely criticized me for theories which are not my own, but which I have quoted from other writers.

The Sūriji holds the degree "Itihās Tattva Mahodadhi". He has repeatedly stated it to be his intention to publish a regular treatise against my book. I will be the first to read it and try to grasp all sound pieces of criticism and advice from it.

I can ill afford to devote much time to answering criticisms upon my book, which bristles with novel theories. The volumes to be published by me are:—"Life of Priyadarśin" (500 pages); "Life of Mahāvīr" (500 pages) and "Encyclopaedia Jainicā" (20 volumes of about a thousand pages each). I am already in the evening of my life (60 years). Hence I have decided to devote all my energies to the stupendous task I have undertaken. The pioneer in any field is always hooted by his contemporaries and I form no exception to it,

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Now I turn to certain general remarks:—

(1) The whole book was written by 1928. During the years that intervened between the compilation and the publication,

several additions, alterations and corrections were found necessary to be made in the book. Some of these have been given in the indexes and other tags appended to some of the chapters, because I did not think it wise to disturb the uniformity of the original matter.

(2) Most of the criticisms were anticipated by me and I have already stated my explanations in reference to them.

(3) Any one, who takes up any book on ancient history, will find, that little space is devoted to the faith followed by a particular king or by a particular dynasty. A perusal of these volumes, on the other hand, will convince the reader that the policy of all the ancient kings was formed by the faith that they followed. It was the basis of their activities in all other fields of life. An account of the life of any king, like Chandragupta, Bindusār, Aśoka or Priyadarśin will convince the reader of this.

(4) We are not concerned here with the problem—"What is religion"?[1] Neither need we discuss here, whether the influence of religion extends over this life, or of the subsequent lives as well. Suffice it to say, that most of the modern educationists are convinced of the truth, that intellectual development is only one isolated part of real education, and that real education of a child should mean a harmonious growth of physical, mental and moral of his nature. The spiritual and moral side of education[2] has received little attention hitherto. Real happiness and peace in the world can never be established without properly training and developing the moral and spiritual virtues of the members of a nation and for that matter, of all the human beings. These are the reasons why religious matters have been discussed in details in my volumes.

(5) Those scholars, who have deeply studied the edicts of Priyadarśin have unanimously declared that they contain a gospel which has the power to establish universal brotherhood. They have hitherto been mistakenly ascribed to Aśoka and so to Buddhism. Really speaking they contain the essence of the Jaina gospel.

(6) Jainism was a universal religion in times immemorial. Its followers are very few at present and most of them all Baniās.

(7) It is understandable that followers of other faiths might

say that the Mohan-jā-ḍero excavations and the rock-edicts do not have any connection with Jainism; but the wonder of wonders is that some of the Jains themselves declare their concurrence with the view.

(8) The people of the west were followers of Jainism in ancient times. (p. 60 to p. 142 chap. about coins) Strangely enough, though these people declare themselves to have been highly civilized some 2500 years ago, yet they never even mention that they owed their civilization to Jainism. At present, they have given up the principle of non-violence and seem to have adopted the policy of persecutting dependent nations. The reader will easily see, how far they have deviated themselves from the original ideal.

(9) The aim of a historian is the search for, and establishment of fact. To quote a passage from a learned writer[3]:—If nothing succeeds like success, the great triumph of Jainism in holding its own against its numerous rivals in the north, discredits the view that Jainism, like Buddhism, did not strike deep roots in India and that there was nothing like a Jaina period in the history of India. During the glorious period of more than a thousand years, there was not a single dynasty in the north, whether great or small, that did not come under the influence of Jainism at one time or another." This same period has been wrongly named as a Buddhist period, because they did not know how to distinguish between Jaina signs and Buddhist signs. In fact there was no Buddhist period. For this, I draw the reader's attention to Pref. pp. 20, vol. I, where I have quoted extracts from Mr. A. K. Mazmudar's "Hindu History" (pp. 702-3), and from Mr. Vincent Smith's "Oxford History of India." p. 55. During the thousand years with which we are concerned, there was not a single dynasty which did not come under the influence of Jainism at one time or other.

T. L. Shah

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(1) One definition is given in the preface to vol. I. According to a writer religion is the basis of life in all its branches.

(2) We have got only "Directors of Public Instruction" but not of "Education."

(3) Jainism in Northern India, pp. 261

# Some Hints

There is a class of critics who have chosen to declare that the arguments and proofs stated in support of the theories advanced by the author, are not convincing enough. These critics are requested to go through the following paragraphs.

Historical data are generally gathered from the following sources:—(1) Legends and traditions; (2) Inscriptions; (3) Coins; and (4) Contemporaneous incidents narrated in historical treatises of other countries. All these sources are useful in more or less degree. A theory based on the corroborating pieces of evidence gathered from all the four, is well nigh true and irrefutable. In other words, when all the four sources tell the same tale in connection with a problem, the solution based on the common evidence gathered from them is correct enough to inspire confidence. So far as information is available from all the four sources and so far as these sources are unanimous about a thing, there is little room for doubt or dissent.

In ancient times however,—with which we are concerned in these volumes—no proper, or very improper, records were kept. Of those records that might have been kept, few have come down to us and many must have been destroyed, one way or the other, in course of time. Furthermore, no uniform system of dating events existed in those times. In relation to these times, therefore any stray piece of evidence gathered from any of the above sources, is extremely valuable. The more so it is, if it is supported by the other sources. In fact, when all the four sources are unanimous on a point, it is not in any way unsafe to come to a conclusion about it, based on the common pieces of evidence. Sometimes, information on a point may be available from only one or two sources, while the remaining two may be silent about this. The general rule that may be observed is, that the more the number of the sources supporting a theory, the greater its reliability is. To make, however, assurance doubly sure, we have always seen to it, that the theory thus supported, fits in chronologically with other events. Mr. Vincent Smith observes, and very rightly too, " A body of history must be supported upon a skeleton of chronology and without chronology, history is impossible." This

is an axiom most reverently followed by me throughout the pages of these volumes. I have always seen, whether a particular event fits in with the general chronological table of a particular period or not, because Arithmetic can never be cheated. For instance, if it be proved that a particular king was on the throne of Magadh in B. C. 327, it logically follows that he was a contemporary of Alexander the Great who invaded India in the same year. Thus, Sandrecottus of the Greek history must have been that king, who was on the throne of Magadh in B. C. 327. Similarly, if it be proved that during the time when Priyadarśin was on the throne of Magadh, the five kings whose names are stated in R. E. XIII of Priyadarśin, were ruling over particular territories, that during the same time particular Ceylonese kings (-variously named in Mahāvamśa, Dipvamśa and in Simhālese Chronicles ) were on the throne and that Śi-Hu-Wāng, the great Chinese emperor built the famous gigantic wall during the same time, we logically come to the conclusion that they were all contemporaries. Thousands of details contained in the Rock-edicts and Pillar-edicts clash with one another and produce a violently discordant note because it has been erroneously and presumptuously taken for granted by scholars that Aśok and Priyadarśin were one and the same individual. When we try to confirm these details in the light of chronology, we find ourselves immersed in an ocean of the most confounding kind. All these confusions, discordant notes and intellectual dissatisfaction vanish into thin air when we, in the light of chronological evidence, strike upon the truth that they were names of two different emperors, one succeeding the other. All the details in all the Rock-edicts and Pillar-edicts when tested on the anvil of chronology, rise like a fountain emitting the most powerful and harmonious streaks of truth. These details and chronology seem to be working hand-in-hand like bosom friends. In spite of this overwhelmingly logical and convincing result, there are readers and critics who choose to stick to old and dry-as-dust theories, no matter how much they go against the actual and logical information gathered in the most refreshingly reasonable and convincing methods. When these readers and critics come across any theory, which strikes at the root of their pet beliefs and

accepted conventions, they, like spoilt children or like dogmatists, become vituperative, raise the critical broad-sword and plunge themselves heart and soul into the unseemly and unscholarly work of hacking and hewing the new theory into infinitesimally small pieces. To such readers, we humbly request to have patience and impartiality. Them do we exhort to approach a new theory with a dispassionate, unbiased and catholic mind. Them do we advise not to discard a theory simply because it is new.

* * * *

It has been stated that evidence based on coins and inscriptions is well nigh irrefutable. This is true in a large measure. But a word of caution is necessary here. In the case of inscriptions, everything depends upon the correct deciphering and interpreting of the script. Now, script on an inscription is not, and cannot be, immune from the inclemancies of weather. Due to many other reasons, several changes might have been effected in the original drafts of various inscriptions. Sometimes both the script and the language are unknown to us and sometimes one of them. These obstacles, we have to bear in mind while accepting as true the evidence based on them. The same conditions apply to the coins. No doubt, the coins bear signs, symbols, and some of them, portrait-heads; and hence, evidence based upon them is more reliable than that based on inscriptions. The absolutely reliable way, however, of establishing and finding out truth is the skeleton of chronology. A thing which is proved to be chronologically correct must always be taken as true.

* * * *

These volumes are intended for scholars as well as for laymen. Hence minute details are given in foot-notes. The book itself contains a presentation of those things only, which are likely to interest the general reader for whom, specially, these volumes are meant. At the same time, advanced students of history will also find much to attract their attention and deserve their notice. The primary motive, however, is to initiate the general mass of readers into the cobwebs of Ancient Indian history and to make them permanently interested in the glorious past of India.

**Tribhuvandas L. Shah**

# Pictures in the Book

**In** the following description, the first line of numbers shows the serial numbers of the pictures themselves, and the second line indicates the page in the book on which they are given.

*Defficiency in successive numbers of the pictures represents those pictures given at the top of every chapter; for their details see ante.*

(A)

*No.* *Page*

1 **Cover:**—It represents the Kalpadruma. Details about it are given on Pref. pp. 25 Vol. I. It was at first decided to give different pictures on the covers of all the four volumes. Later on, however, it was found more advisable to preserve unity by giving the same picture on the covers of all the four volumes.

2 **The Title page:**—It represents the Sāñchī Stūpa, which the scholars have generally stated to have connection with the Buddhism. According to my opinion it is a relic of Jainism. In ancient times, there was at the place around it a city, which could be named Sañchī Puri. Chandragupta donated Rs. 40000 per year for illuminations in it. A part of it is at present also known as "Siddha Kā Sthān"; and hence I have put the words:—"Arhate namo namah". For details see P. 186–8. All these details go to prove that it is connected with Jainism. At this place Mahāvīr, the last Jain Tīrthankar attained salvation.

The dome is majestic. Following is the description given in the Bhilsā Topes P. 186:-"The total height of building including the cupolas, must have been upwards of one hundred feet–the base of the Tope is surrounded by a massive colonnade, 144½ ft. in

| *No.* | *Page* | |
|---|---|---|
| | | diameter from west to east and $151\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from north to south. (P. 187) The total height of the gateway is 18 ft. 2 in. and its breadth is 7 ft. 1 in. |

PART III

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5-6 | 10 | Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, and Mahāvīr, the founder of Jainism. They are given side by side for comparison and contrast of their respective signs. |
| 7 | 186-88 | The gate-way of Sāñchī stūpa, the place of the salvation of Mahāvīr. In olden times the entrances to holy shrines were always low in height, so that those who wanted to enter, might have to bend down their heads at first. For details see no. 2 above. The average height of people in those times was more than our own. Mahāvīr's height was $10\frac{1}{2}$ ft. |
| 12 | 177 | The Birth of Bindusār. Chāṇakya is seen drawing out the child from the phœtus of the queen of Chandragupta. |
| 13 | 195 | Monk Gomaṭa; a gigantic idol of Bhadrabāhu. It is situated in the district of Hasan in Mysore state. Its height is 56 ft. Its symmetry is unique and has struck with wonder all artists, Indian as well as foreign. It has been carved on the top of a mount; certainly we do not clearly understand how the sculptors must have managed to execute this difficult task. For further details the reader is referred to p. 195 and 323. |
| 16 | 212 | The portrait-head of Alexander the Great, who invaded Iudia in 327 B. C. For details about him vide chap. VII. |
| 16-17 | 212-220 | Portrait-head of Seleucus Nicator, the chief general of Alexander. He declared himself as an independent ruler after the death of the latter. His attempts to conquer India were rendered unsuccessful by Aśoka who at last married his daughter. For details vide the account of Aśoka. |

| No. | Page | |
|---|---|---|
| 18 | 221 | Aśoka is seen starting towards the Punjāb to suppress the rebellion. The Yavana generals there, had begun to quarrel with one another. Aśoka comes across an elephant in the forest. The elephant has lifted Aśoka with his trunk and has placed him on his back. |

PART IV

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 20-21 | 225 | Portrait heads of Aśoka and his Vaiśya queen. Artists generally add something of their own, whenever they have to draw pictures of the people of ancient times. Such pictures do not give a correct idea of those people. This picture given here is based on truth. It gives a true impression of the persons it represents. It is based on the famous "Bhārhut Stūpa" It gives us a correct idea of the dresses and other details of the kings and queens of those times. |
| 22 | 237 | After the ordination of prince Mahendra and princess Saṅghamitrā, Aśoka sent a group of missionaries under their leadership, to Ceylon. In the picture Aśoka is seen seeing off the missionaries on the sea shore. |
| 23 | 248 | Kuṇal the eldest son of Aśoka, was studying at Avanti, when he was 13 years old. His step-mother, Tiṣyaraksitā contrived to make him blind. In the picture Kuṇāl is seen blinding himself according to the order of his father. |
| 25-26 | 235-6 | Portrait-heads of Kuṇāl and his queen Kānchanmālā. (Read no. 20-21 with this.) |
| 27 | 263 & seq. | The middle picture represents Priyadarśin. The two above it represent Aśoka and his queen Padmāvatī, and the two below Kuṇāl and his queen Kānchanmālā. |
| 28 | 256 | The dream of Māyādevī. The scholars have taken her to be the mother of Buddha; but Buddha's mother's name was not Māyādevī. Again the Buddhist |

| No. | Page | |
|---|---|---|
| | | books give no explanation as to why the elephant was one of the features of the dream. Thus many things go against connecting this picture with Buddhism. As to my conclusions about it, vide descriptions on P. 240-2 and P. 256 with their notes. |
| 29 | 261-2 | The portrait-head of Priyadarśin. The reader can see the fine personality of the emperor. The picture is based on the same material on which pictures Nos. 20, 21, 25 and 26 are based. The reader will see that his account given in the book agrees with his picture. |
| 30 | 277 | As stated in the Dhauli-Jagauḍā rock-edict, Priyadarśin invaded Kaliṅg during the 9th year of his reign. At the sight of the ruthless massacre, both of soldiers and horses, his heart melted with pity and he took the vows of a Śrāvak. |
| 33 | 320 & seq. | Some of the numerous edicts and relics of Priyadarśin. The details about all of them are given in the book. |
| 34 | 323 | The gigantic idol; I have come to the conclusion based on research work that Priyadarśin must have erected numerous idols of such tremendous sizes. Only 9 to 10 of them are found at present. Seven of them have been described at some length in the book. The picture has been given here with two points of view; it is one of the numerous edicts of Priyadarśin whose account is given here; the other is to give an idea of the vast size of the idol, as contrasted with the height of the man, who is also given in the picture. The height of the idol described in no. 13 is 58 ft; the height of this idol is 35 ft. |
| 35, 36 & 37 | 332-33 | Monuments of Priyadarśin. They have been given here with a view to show an idea of the art of those times. Details about them will be given later on. |

(B)

## Pictures at the beginning of every chapter

# Part III

**Chapter I**—Buddha is seen preaching his gospel on the other side of the Himālayas—in China, Japan and other countries. Jaina monks are seen preaching the gospel of Mahāvīr every where. A poet is seen engrossed in observing the cycles of the world and then puts them down into writing.

**Chapter II**—In ancient times every new thing originated from the king. The coins were struck in his name. His main duty was to look after the welfare and happiness of his subjects. Their coins represent their different likes and dislikes.

**Chapter III**—Original forms of coins. Gold and silver and their transformation into coins. These coins bear religious signs showing religious-mindedness of the kings of those times.

**Chapter IV**—Chandragupta is seen in a state of dreaming. Everything in the world is bound to be destroyed in course of time. Chandragupta is seen sitting at the feet of his preceptor, who accepts him as his disciple; then both of them start towards the deccan.

**Chapter V**—A person is influenced by the company he keeps. The incident of the old dame played a very important part in the life of Chandragupta and of Chāṇakya. The pregnant queen of Chandragupta is poisoned. Chāṇakya wished the death of the queen for the sake of saving the life of the child. The pilgrimage to Śatrunjaya and Chandragupta's ordination are also significant points.

**Chapter VI**—Wars were common in those times. Kings of those times maintained standing armies consisting of infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots. Chāṇakya's death took place at this time. His enemy died also by that time.

**Chapter VII**—Porus, who is defeated, submits his sword to Alexander, who hands over the sword back to him. Porus was murdered by his own people. The emperor of Magadh regains the throne.

# Part IV

**Chapter I**—There were many facts to the life of Aśoka. Varied were the events that took place in his life. The lion licked his body. It is said that Aśoka was very cruel in his former life. He had started the cruel institution known as "Narkālay." The most tragic incident of his life was the blindness of his eldest son, Kuṇāl.

**Chapter II**—After the birth of his grandson Priyadarśin, Aśoka managed the administrative affairs as his regent. By this time he had become very pious. His daughter Saṅghamitrā had gone to Ceylon to spread the gospel of Buddhism. His (?) another daughter and her husband having crossed the Himālayas had gone towards Nepāl for religious propaganda.

**Chapter III**—Priyadarśin was a beggar in his former life. He turned a new leaf in his life after coming into contact with Jaina monks. In his present life, he came across the same monks, and recollected his former life. He salutes them respectively and turns more devotedly to the path of religion by beginning to get shrines and edicts and many other things built.

**Chapter IV**—Priyadarśin throws himself heart and soul into religious activities. He got erected numerous edicts, topes, shrines, traveller's guest-houses, gigantic idols and many other relics, most of which are seen to-day.

**Chapter V**—Chandragupta has gone on a pilgrimage to Girnār. He is seen getting the lake Sudarśan dug at the foot of the mount. The coolies are seen building the wall of the dam.

**Chapter VI**—Rebellions are found rising in every corner of the empire during Subhāgsen's reign, owing to his policy of religious persecution; seeing the woeful plight, the Commander-in-chief murders the master with his own sword and is seen to usurp the throne for himself.

**Chapter VII**—King Chandragupta and his adviser Chāṇakya are seen to consult on some important state matters. The Greek emperor, Alexander the Great is seen marching speedily towards

India; how finally, the blind prince Kuṇāl had resorted to the life of a singer, owing to the high-handed and mean policy of his step-mother Tīṣyarakṣitā, the then-Queen-consort of Emp. Aśoka is also shown here.

## (C)

## Maps

Maps are given of the extents of the territories in the time of every Mauryan emperor.

Fig. 41 shows, where Chandragupta began to rule as a petty small king and founded the Mauryan dynasty; and finally how much land he brought under his sway.

Fig. 42 shows, how much of the mighty Magadha empire was lost during Bindusār's rule.

Fig. 43 shows how it was destined for Emp. Aśoka to preserve the integrity of inheritance from his father.

Fig. 44 shows, how far and wide in all directions was extended the same Mauryan empire under Emp. Priyadarśin.

Fig. 45 shows the fate of the Mauryan empire during the time of Emp. Priyadarśin's successors within a short space of only 25 years, thus furnishing a good lesson to those, who follow in their footsteps.

## (D)

## Coin plates

There are seven coin plates; within them 104 coins have been represented. Both the obverse and the reverse sides of most of the coins are given. Thus their total number is about 200. Details about every one of them are given in chap. III. Some details are also given in the preface pp. 8 & seq.

## The names of the books, that are consulted, cited and quoted

### (A)

### Books that are abbreviated

| | |
|---|---|
| A. G. C. | Ancient Geography of India by Gen. Cunningham |
| A. G. I. | Ancient Geography of India by Nandlal Dey |
| A. E. C.<br>A. E. | Ancient eras by Gen. Cunningham |
| A. R. | Asiatic Researches |
| A. S. I. | Archeological survery of India |
| A. S. R. I. | Archeological survery Report of India |
| B. I. | Buddhist India by Prof. R. Davis |
| Bh. A<br>Bh. Asoka | Asoka by Dr. Bhandarkar |
| B. I. P. | Bhavnagar Inscriptions, Sanskrit and Prakṛt by Prof. Peterson |
| Bh. P. R. Bh.<br>Bh. P. R.<br>Bh. P. Rau | Bhārat no Prāchīn Rājvaṃśa, Vol. I-II by V. Rāu |
| B. M. C. | British Museum Coins |
| C. A. I.<br>A. C. I. | Coins of Ancient India by Gen. Cunningham |
| C. J. B.<br>C. A. B. | Coins of India by. C. J. Brown. M. A. (1922) The Heritage of India Series |
| C. H. I. | Cambridge History of India Vol. I |
| C. I. M. | Coins of Indian Museum |
| C. D.<br>C. I. | Chronology by Mrs. Duff |
| C. A. R. | Coins of Andhra Dynasty by Prof. Rapson |
| E. I. | Epigraphica Indica |
| E. H. I. | Early History of India by Vincent Smith |
| H. H. | The Hindu History of India by A. K. Majmudar, Calcutta 1920 |
| H. J. | Heart in Jainism by Stephenson |
| H. U. Chho. | History of India (Uttarārdha) by Chhotalal Purāṇi M. A. (G. V. S edition) |
| I. H. Q. | Indian Historical Quarterly (Quarterly Magazine) |
| I. C. C.<br>I. C. I. | Inscriptions Corporatorum by Prof. Hultzsch |

| | |
|---|---|
| I. C. I. C. | Inscriptions Corporatorum Indices by Gen. Cunningham |
| I. A. | Indian Antiquary (Monthly Magazine) |
| I. C. | Epigraphica Karṇāṭica |
| J. A. H. R. S. | The Journals of the Andhra Historical Research Society |
| J. B. A. S.<br>R. A. S. B.<br>J. R. S. B.<br>A. S. B. | Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal |
| J. S. L. S. | Jain Sāhiyta Lekh Saṅgrah |
| J. B. B. R. A. S. | Journals of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society |
| J. R. S.<br>J. R. A. S.<br>R. A. S. | Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society |
| J. D. P. | Jaina Dharma Prakāś ( monthly ) published from Bhavnagar |
| J. N. I. | Jainism in N. India by C. J. Shah |
| J. G. D. | Jainism; translated by Prof. Glazanāpp published by J. D. P. Sabhā, Bhavnagar |
| J. B. O. R. S.<br>J. O. B. R. S. | Journals of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society |
| J. S. I.<br>J. I. S. I. | The Studies in Jainism in Southern India Vol. I–II by Prof. Rao |
| K. A. J. | Kautilya Arthśāstra by J. P. Joshipura M. A. (Gaekwar Series No. 187) |
| K. S. S.<br>K. S. S. C. | Vinay Vijayji's Comments of Kalpasūtra Sukhbodhini by Harilal Hansraj |
| M. S. I.<br>M. S. E.<br>M. S. K. I. | Maurya Sāmrājyakā Itihās by Āchārya Shree Vidyābhūṣanālaṇkār, Kāngḍi Gurukul. |
| O. H. I. | Offord History of India by V. Smith |
| Pari<br>Pari P. | Hemchandra Sūri's Pariśista Parva translated by J. D. P. Sabhā Bhavnagar |
| R. K. M. | Aśoka by Prof. Radha Kumud Mukerji |
| R. W. W. | Records of the Western World Pts. I–II by Rev. S. Beal |
| S. B. E.<br>S. B. East | Sacred Books of the East |
| S. J. I. D. | Saṅkṣipta Jaina Itihās by Kamtaprasad Jain Surat 1990 |

# (B)

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Abhidhān Chintāmani; Arthaśāstra by Jolly
Aśoka–Revised 2nd edition (Mysore) Vol. I
Aśoka ( Rulers of India Series ) by V. Smith
Aśoka : life of : published from Pālitānā
Aśoka (article on and inscriptions of) by Rāmāvtār Śarmā
Bharateś Bāhubali Vṛti (Translation)
Bombay Samāchār (Divāli number 1923); daily (26–30–31)
Bhilsā Topes and Bhārhut Stūpa by Gen. Cunningham
Buddhi prakāś Guj. Vernācular Society; Ahmedabad
Bṛhat Kathā by Harisen (A. D. 931)
Bhadrabāhu Charita by Ratnanandi (15th Cent. A. D.)
Chandragupta (Baroda Sāhitya Granthmālā; no 139)
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Emp. Aśoka Dislodged (Article at the Fifth All India Oriental Congress; Lahore (1929)
Gaṅgā (Monthly) research number; Jan. 1933 (Mohan–jā–ḍero by Dr. S. K. Ayangar)
Gujarati (Weekly) Bombay
Government of India Communique (Dec. 1931)
History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon by Vincent Smith 1911
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Indian Culture; Vol. V (No. I) July Calcutta, 1938
Jain Āgam Sūtra (Āchārāṅg, Uttarādhyayan, Bhagvati, Āvaśyak, Niśithchūrṇi etc. etc.)
Jaina Tattvā–darśa (Vidyāprasārak Varga–Pālitānā)
Jain–Silver Jubilee number, Bhavnagar 1930

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Mysore & Kurg (Rice & Lewis); Mudrā-rākṣas
Modern Review (Monthly) Calcutta; 1933 Oct.
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Mahā vamśa, Translated into English; Columbo edition
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Proceedings of the As. Soc. Bengal 1898
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Princep's Journal Vol. IV and useful Tables Vol. II
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Śatrunjaya Prakāś (Bhavnagar 1929)
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Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems by Sir R. G. Bhandarker
Vanrāj Chāwado : Mahipatrām Ruprām Nilkanṭh
Vāyupurāṇ by Pargiter

# ABBREVIATIONS

A. D. Anno Domini; In the year of our Lord; Christian Era
A. E. Añjan Era; Era of the king Añjan of Ceylon
A. M. Anno Mahāvīr; in the year of Mahāvīr; Mahāvīra Era
A. V. Anno Vikram; Vikrama Era
A. B. Anno Buddha; Buddha Era
B. Bṛhat
B. C. Before Christ; before the Christian Era
B. M. Before Mahāvīr
B. V. Before Vikram
Cf. = Compare; Chap. = Chapter; Dr. = Doctor;
E. = East; e. g. = for example; F. N. : f. n. = Foot note;
I. e. : i. e. = that is; Fig. : fig. = Figure; ht. = height;
Intro. = Introduction; ft. = foot; feet; in. = inches;
G. V. S. Gujarat Vernacular Society
K. E. Kali Era
L. S. Laukika Era
M. E. Mahāvīra Era
M. R. E. Minor rock-edicts
N. North. N. E. North-east. N. W. North-west
N. W. W. North-west-west No. : no. Number
P.E. Pillar-edict Pref. : pref. preface Prof. Professor
P. : Pp. : pp. page pages Pt. pt. part
R. E. Rock-edict
R. I. S. Royal Indian Series
Seq. sequel, that follows S. South
U. P. United Provinces
Vol. Volume W. West

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# Part 3

# PART 3


I Chapter How the religious prophets led humanity

II Chapter Coins (generally)

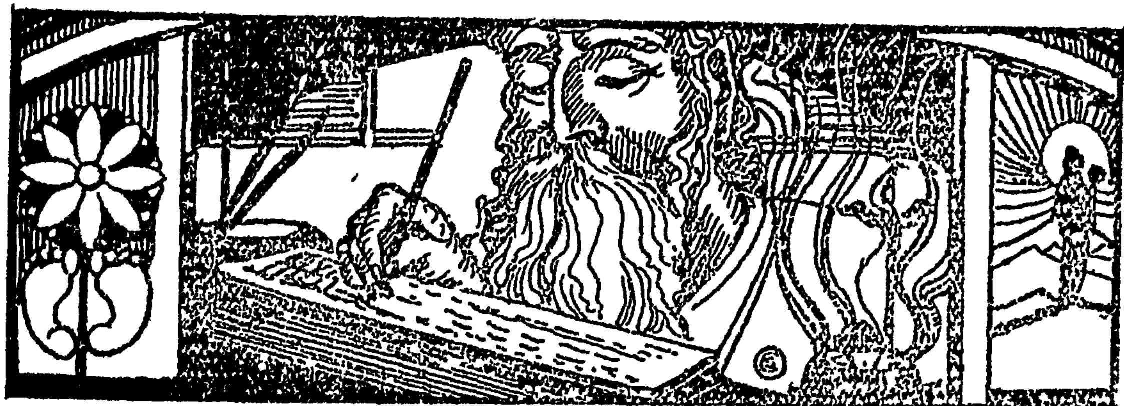
III Chapter Coins (particularly)

IV Chapter The Maurya Dynasty
(1) Chandragupta

V Chapter Chándragupta (contd.)

VI Chapter Chandragupta (contd.)
(2) Bindusār

VII Chapter India under foreign rule



# Chapter I

**How the religious prophets well-versed in the workings of nature let humanity.**

Synopsis :—*Marvels of nature—Account of leaders of humanity who were contemporaries—Fixing the dates of the events of Lord Buddha, the founder of Buddhism—Contemporary events in the life of Mahāvir, the last Jaina Tirthankar—List of other important facts concerning their lives and the writer's thoughts on them—Spread of Buddhism in India as well as outside India and an analysis of its reasons—An explanation of dreams dreamt by mothers of great persons during their period of pregnancy—Origin of the present social structure—Special advantage of the Federal System, and the coins of those times—Beginning of the art of writing and of grammar—Relation between nature and human society—Brahmin religion, the proved eternity of the Vedic religion—Culture and learning rather than birth and age, decide the progress and status of a man in the world—The existing coins, rock inscriptions and other relics which are hitherto accepted as connected with Buddhism; and points leading to the removal of this belief.*

It is indeed a happy sign that common people have begun to turn their backs to materialism in favour of spiritualism, and that they have begun to recognize the existence of nature.

**Nature and her pre-conceived plan for everything in this world**

The two causes of all the activities in this world are nature and man, who, when they act on the same lines, make this world happy and progressive like the ship, the sails of which are helped by a favourable wind. If, on the contrary, any activity of man is against the plan of nature, the world progresses, if it progressess at all, with the speed of a snail, though, in nine cases out of ten, it does not progress at all, but receives a set-back.

This part of the book contains an account of the Maurya dynasty, the kings in which line, were not only great but were responsible for many significant changes, social as well as political and religious, many of which exist even at present. The seeds of these pregnant changes had been laid long ago, but the efficient rule of these kings brought them into being effectively.

**Coming and passing of great men**

Nature's way to execute her plans is to create great men[1]. Accordingly,[2] four[3] of them, two of which were connected with changes of a social nature, and the other two of which with religious, had laid the foundation of the changes mentioned above. Their general aim was the welfare of the common people.

The account of the first two great men is already given in the first volume, though we shall have occasion to refer to them in this part. In the foot-note given below[4], are quoted passages

(1) Nature always creates great men with a set and serious purpose. Vide Part I. Chap. I. f. n. 10. As Lord Kṛṣṇa has said in Gītā : "I take birth in every age for the protection of the good, for the destruction of the wicked and for establishing religion."

(2) See f. n. no. 1.

(3) For details about them vide Vol. I in Chap. about king Śreṇik.

(4) The following paragraph is quoted from page 51 of the presidential address of Mr. Hornele before the annual meeting of the J. R. S. B. in 1898:—

"Another point clearly brought out by the inscriptions in the position of

from foreign writers, treating of the magnitude of the changes brought into effect by these two great men. Here I propose to give some details about the other two, the religious leaders. No attempt is made here to expound the tenets preached by them; there can be little scope for it in a volume of this nature. We shall content ourselves with noting only the historical significance of the changes caused by their preachings.

One thing deserves notice here. We have already stated that nature periodically created great men to get her plans executed by them. Within the time-limit fixed for this book, she had already created a great man in the 8th century B. C.

This great man was Pārśvanāth, the great twenty-third Tirthankar of the Jains. As stated in foot-note no. 1, the authors of Śrutis and Pārśvanāth existed in the 8th century B. C. Vedic literature is not quite definite about the time of these authors; but all Jaina books have unanimously fixed the time of Pārśvanāth as stated in the first part.[5] They tell us that when Pārśva was a young prince, he had an incident[6] with a Vedic ascetic named Kamaṭh, who was observing penance, hanging upside down from the branch of a tree, with five fine burnings

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the lay element in the Jaina community. I have already remarked that, that element formed an integral part of the Jaina organization, and shown the very important bearing of this point on the fortunes of the order—pp. 45. With the Buddhists, his position was exactly the reverse. In this matter, Buddhism made a fatal mistake."

Thus, in Jainism, due recognition and classification of the lay element have made its existence permanent, while, want of these in Buddhism has shortened its life. Let us hope that the Jains of to-day may cease to disregard the importance of the lay element, and follow Dr. Hornele's suggestion.

Another quotation is from J. N. I. pp. 76.—"With all these schisms and divisions in the Jaina Church it is remarkable that Jainism is still a living sect, whereas the Buddhists have disappeared from India. Its strength and persistence are centred in its power of enlisting the interest of the laity and forming these into a corporation." (Elliot p. 122).

(5) In the first part, we have fixed the dates of Pārśva as follows: Birth : 877 B. C. Entering into holy orders : 847 B. C. (at the age of thirty).

(6) Vide pp. 106. K. S. S.

immediately below his head. In one of the logs of wood, thrown into the fire, there was a serpent who was trying to escape death. Attracted by the noise of the crowd gathered there, Pārśva, riding an elephant, went there and knowing with the aid of his spiritual knowledge[7] that the life of the serpent was in danger, asked his servant to take out the log and split it gently, thus freeing the serpent.

Hence, during the eighth century, sacrifices involving slaying of animals, were generally performed and liked by the people, who followed the Vedic religion. This means that the doctrine of giving sacrifice must have been preached a century or two ago, which leads us to the conclusion that the authors of the Śrutis must have existed, not in the eighth but in the tenth or eleventh century B. C.

Thus, animal sacrifices were the order of the day in the 9th century B. C. This fact is supported by the literatures of the two then existing religions—Vedic and Jaina. Nature[8] created a great man[9] in Pārśvanāth, who after attaining Kaivalya Gnān, led the right

(7) Knowledge is divided into five parts in Jainism. (1) Mati Gñān or knowledge which a person has, since his birth. (Persons possessing this, know everything about their previous birth). (2) Śruta Gñān or knowledge which is derived from hearing the preachings of the preceptor and from reading and studying books. (3) Avadhi Gñān or knowledge with a limit. (4) Manaha paryava Gñān or knowledge which enables a person to read thoughts in the minds of others. (5) Kaivalya Gñān or pure and perfect knowledge.

The first three of these, a person, destined to be a Tīrthankar, possesses from his very birth; the fourth, he attains at the time of entering holy orders, and the fifth comes to him as a result of severe penance.

A person cannot be said to possess full knowledge, as long as he does not attain Kaivalya Gñān; and he is forbidden to preach upto that time, because his preachings may possibly have defects in them. Consequently, a Jaina monk neither preaches nor has any disciples before the attainment of Kaivalya Gñān. (Cf. the question of the relation between Mahāvīr and Gośāla).

As Pārśva was destined to be a Tīrthankar, he possessed the first three kinds of knowledge since his birth, and so was able to know the existence of the serpent inside the hollow of the log.

(8) See f. n. no. 1.

(9) Thus nature created a great man in the 8th century B. C. and She created Mahāvīr and Buddha in the 5th century B. C.

path; he is thus called a great Tirthankar, as is proved by rock-inscriptions.[10] In short, Jaina literature, like Purans, contains valuable and authentic information; however if we misconstrue them the fault is ours and not theirs.[11]

The fifth monk in order from Pārśvanāth, was Keśi[12] who preached Jainism to Prasenjit of Kośala, formerly a Buddhist and known as Pasādi in Buddhist works, and converted him in Jainism. He was a contemporary of Mahāvīr and Buddha. These things are treated fully in the first volume.

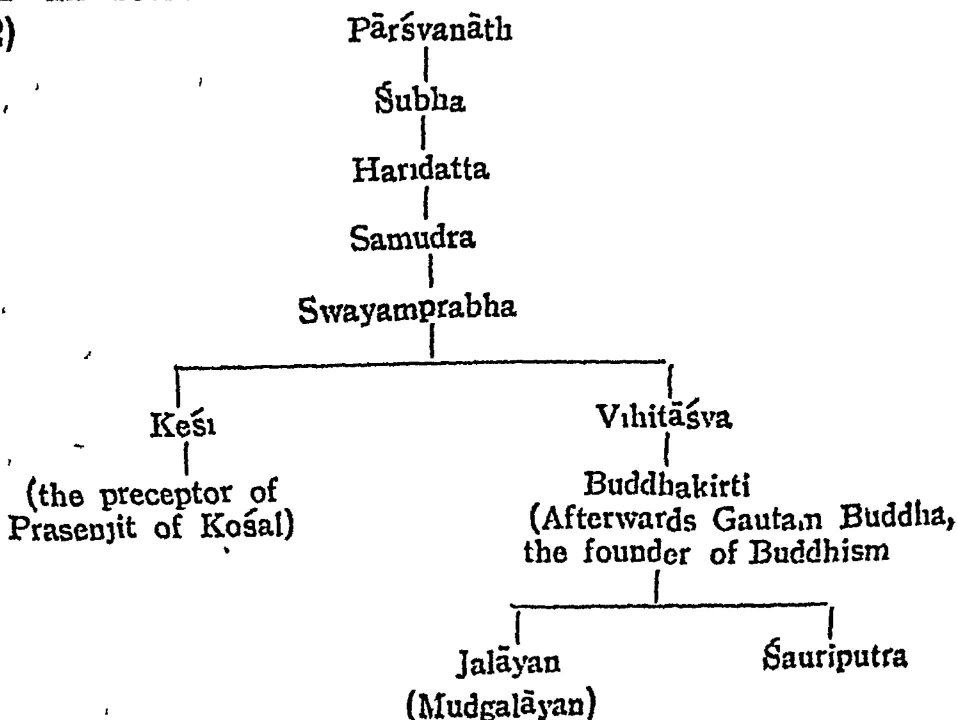
**Details about nature's creation of great persons in the 5th century B. C.**

The two religious prophets created by nature in the 5th century B. C. were Mahāvīr and Buddha. It is expedient to fix their times, before we deal with other details about their lives; because, while Jains are definite about the time of Mahāvīr and his era[13], the Buddhists do not seem to have come to a difinite conclusion about them.

(10) The inscriptions of Gāndhār and of Takṣaśilā contain the name of Pārśvanāth, thus proving the prevalence of Jainism in those regions, at that time. The Māṇikyāl Stūpa having the same data, must also be connected with Jainism. (Vide Vol. I, f. n. no. 1, pp. 37 and 294).

(11) Many quotations from, and references to, both these literatures are given in this book.

(12)




(13) See further for this.

**The time of Buddha**

Many books have been published expounding the philosophy of Buddhism. From the historical point of view, however, Dipvaṁśa, Mahāvaṁśa, Divyāvdān, Aśokāvdān and the Siṁhālese Chronicles only are important. All these books treat of mainly two periods, one of which is about Buddha's life and half a century round about it; while the other is about two century later when Maurya rule began and upto the end of Aśok. Though many facts are given which took place after the first century A. D. we give them up, as they do not fall within the time-limit fixed for this book.

These writers have adopted Buddha era while dealing with these two periods; but all books are not unanimous in assigning dates to the same events in Buddha's life and after[14]. The reader, therefore, is perplexed about it and to make confusion worse confounded, several experts, including among them, western scholars of repute, have fixed up Sandrekotes to be none other than Chandragupta[15] the Mauryan emperor, and not stopping at that, have made Alexander the Great, to have been his contemporary. Non-existence of the materials for putting down these important events into writing, at the time when they took place[16], has helped to make these dates more inaccurate than they otherwise would have been. These events were put into script[17] some six or seven centuries after they had actually taken place.

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(14) M. S. E. pp. 54:—Buddhist books are full of contradictory and impossible statements. Mahāvaṁśa has a story to tell entirely different from Dipvaṁśa, and Divyāvdān strikes a still new path, while other northern books go on a different journey.

(15) No evidence is forthcoming to support this theory. It is a hypothesis taken for granted by a certain writer who is followed by others without questioning or honest doubt. I have discussed this problem in the account of Aśok.

(16) Vide Vol. I. pp. 36 for the possible time of any script being used in writing.

(17) Books might have been written in the third or fourth century B. C., but we find no traces of them to day. It is possible that such books may be found out in Tibet or China.

Hence, in spite of all honesty and conscientiousness of these writers, some discrepancies were bound to creep in. To reduce these difficulties to a minimum, we should fix up the Buddha era properly.

The Simhalese Chronicles[18] have adopted the Era of king Anjan of Devāh, while giving dates of the main events in the life of Buddha. These dates are:—

(1) Birth:- A. E. 68[19]
(2) Great Renunciation:- A. E. 97 (i. e. at the age of 29)
(3) Attainment of Buddhahood:- A. E. 103 (at the age of 35)
(4) Nirvāṇ:- A. E. 127 (at the age of 59[20])
(5) Parinirvāṇ:- A. E. 154 (at the age of 80)[21]

It has been found out[22] that Buddha died during the eighth year of the reign of Ajātśatru, while Mahāvīr died during the second. The year of Mahāvīr's death has been fixed up to be 526-7 B. C.[23] As Buddha died six years after that,[24] the year of his death can be fixed up, to be 520 B. C. As he died at the

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(18) I. A. Vol, 32. pp. 228.

(19) This era must have been begun in 668 B. C. (600+68=668).

(20) Some are of the opinion that Buddha was 57 at the time of Nirvān, because there was an interval of 23 years between his Nirvān and his death.

(21) C. H. I. pp. 156.

(22) I. A. pp. 342. Vol. 37.; C. H. I. Vol. I. pp. 157, I. A. 1914, pp. 132. (Prof. Carpentier has written a large essay entitled "The Time of Mahāvīr in this last book).

(23) S. B. E. Vol. 22, in which Prof. Jacobi writes:-"The belief of the two Jaina sects, both the Śwetāmber and Digamber, is unanimous as regards Lord Mahāvīr's death B. C. 526."

Vide Introduction to H. J. pp. 14.; Hemachandra's Pariśṭa Parva; A. E. C. pp. 37. (Nirwāṇ 470 years before Vikrama which means 470+57=527 B. C.); Intro. to Kalpasūtra by Dr. Stevenson, p. 8 and f. n. no. 96; J. R. A. S. Vol. IX; B. Therāvali of Merutunga, p. 149; J. R. S. Translations, Vol. III, pp. 356 by Colonel Miles: I. A. Vol. 43. pp. 132. Dr. Jal Carpentier.

(24) The exact period of interval is 6 years and 6 months. Buddha died in the middle of May, 520; Mahāvīr died in the middle of November, 526. (Vide Vol. I. pp. 107 & 368)

Thus Ajātśatru must have come to the throne in May, 528 B. C.

age of eighty, he must have been born in 600 B. C.[25]; as Mahāvīr died at the age of 72[26] he must have been born in 598–9 B. C At the age of 30 i. e. in 568 B. C. he entered the holy orders[27] and twelve years after that, i. e. in 556 B. C. he attained Kaivalya Gñan[28]. Let us place their dates side by side:—

| Buddha | Age | Age | Mahāvīr |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Birth:- 600 B. C. | 0 | 0 | (1) Birth:- 598–9 B. C. |
| (2) Great Renunciation:–571 B.C. | 29 | 30 | (2) Entering into holy orders:–568 B. C. |
| (3) As a preacher– 564–5 B. C. | 36 | | |
| (4) Nırvāṇ:- 544–3 B C. | 57 | | (3) |
| (5) Parinīrvāṇ (death):–520 B. C. (May | 80 | 42 | (4) Kaivalya Gnān:- 556 „ |
| | | 72 | (5) Death:- 527–6 „ (November). |

Thus Buddha and Mahāvīr were contemporaries throughout almost the whole of their lives.

Another point which becomes clear from this, is, that while books of northern India have commenced the Buddha Era from 520 B. C. i.e. the year of Buddha's death[30], while books of south India have commenced the same era from 543 B. C. i. e. the year Buddha's nirvāṇ[31], thus making a difference of 23 years.

Gautam Buddha's original name was Siddhārth Kumār. His father, Śuddhodan, was the king of the region about Nepāl, the capital of which was Kapılvastu, the ruins of which extant to–day. His mother's name was Yaśodharā. He was a Śākya ksatriya

(25) See f. n. no. 19 above.

(26) See f. n. no. 23 above.

(27) Jaina literature and Vol. I. pp. 364.

(28) See Vol. I. pp. 366.

(29) Vıde Dignikāya, pp. 117, 206. Mazimanikāya, II, 243; I. A. 1914. pp. 177: "While Buddha stayed at Sangam, the report was brought to him, that his rival Mahāvīr, dıed at Pāwā.

(30) Chinese and Tıbetan books, and especially Mahāvaṁśa, has this era.

(31) The Sinhalese, the Burmese add the Siamese have adopted this era in their book Dipvaṁśa.

and his Gotra (family descent) was either Kāśyap or Gautam[32]. The old books make no mention of the family of Yaśodharā, modern books have affixed Gautam for her. Śuddhodan was far advanced in-age (nearly sixty) when Sīddhārth was born. After proper training, Siddhārth was married to Yaśodā, a girl of good descent.

**Other details**

A short time after marriage, she gave birth to a son. At the age of 29 in 571 B. C. Siddhārth's mind was turned away from worldly things due to certain events, and as a result, he went away alone at the dead of night, leaving his wife, son and parents, slumbering soundly. Hitherto the Vedic, the Buddhist and the Jaina books agree with one another; from hence Buddhist books differ from others in certain matters. They tell us that for a period of seven years, after his renunciation, (571 to 564 B. C.) Buddha wandered everywhere in search of truth, and never preached to any one[33]. Then his mind turned towards penance which he began somewhere on the banks of the Ganges. He attained Nirvāṇ[34] at the age of 57 in 543 B. C. and became free from worldly shackles[35] near Gayā, which is few miles in the south of Patnā. During the 21 years from 564 to 543 B. C. he preached his gospel to many and made many disciples[36], some of whom were his old[37] disciples like Śauriputra,

(32) Generally sons are known by their father's family, the name which always accompanies their own name. Buddha is known as Gautam and hence this doubt. See f. n. nos. 48 and 49 below.

(33) See f. n. no. 37 below.

(34) In Buddhism, Nirvāṇ means attainment of perfect knowledge and Parinirvāṇ means death. In Jainism, Nirvāṇ (generally known as mokṣa or salvation) means death (f. n. no. 35 below).

(35) Persons who attain this stage become free from the cycle of birth and re-birth. (See f. n. no. 34 above).

(36) His father, mother, wife, and son became his disciples after 564 B. C. As for Bimbisār and Prasenjit being converted to Buddhism, Vide Vol. I.

(37) It is said that, when he began severe penance, his disciples left him alone; but they rejoined him after his Nirvāṇ. Such disciples are called "old". (Cf. f. n. no. 33 above, where it is said that he neither preached nor made any disciples before his Nirvāṇ. Hence, this can be explained only, if we

Mudgalāyan,[38] Ānand and others. King Bimbisār[39] of Magadh was converted to Buddhism in 564 B. C. and his queen Kṣemā became a Buddhist nun[40]. After many years of successful preaching, he died in 520 B. C. at the age of eighty in Kuśinārā–nagar in Videh. Right from his great renunciation in 571 B. C. to his death in 520 B. C. he never met Mahāvīr.[41] These are the details gleaned from Buddhist books. Below is given a comparative list of details about both of them.

| | Gautam Buddha[42] | Mahāvīr[43]. |
|---|---|---|
| (1) Name | Siddhārth | Vardhamān[44] |
| (2) Father's name | Śuddhodan | Siddhārth |
| (3) Mother's name | Yaśodharā[45] | Triślā |

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understand that he must have preached another religion before his Nirvāṇ; for, he could not have preached Buddhism before he founded it.

So the question arises:—who were the disciples who deserted him and what religion did they follow? (f. n. no. 12 above). Which religion did Buddha follow for seven years from 29 to 36 of his age? (See further for explanations).

(38) Cf. f. n. no. 12 above. Some Buddhist books spell the name differently. (Jalāyan).

(39) Vide Vol. I.

(40) Vide Vol. I.

(41) Why they did not come across each other can be explained. See f. n. no. 60 below, and read further question 2, in this chap.

(42) Details are already given.

(43) Some details about him are already given in Vol. I., for others see f. notes below.

(44) Vardhamān was his real name. Mahāvīr is a name given by the Jaina writers according to their custom of giving significant names to great persons. Vide Vol. I. pp 81.

(45) Modern books give the name Māyādevī. The Bhārhut Stūpa contains a picture about Māyādevī's dream. As the Stūpa is believed by many to be connected with Buddhism, these scholars must have taken this Māyādevī to be the mother of Buddha. Bhārhut Stūpa belongs more properly to Jainism. In short, modern books but not old books which are more reliable, support this contention of Māyādevī being the mother of Buddha.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (4) Birth-place | Kapilvastu[46] | Kṣatriyakuṇḍgrām[47] |
| (5) Father's gotra | Kaśyap[48] | Kaśyap. |
| (6) Mother's gotra | Gautam[49] | Vaśiṣṭha[50] |
| (7) Stock[51] | Śākya | Nāt[52] |
| (8) Birth-year | 600 B. C. | 598 B. C.[53] |
| (9) Wife's name | Yaśodā | Yaśodā |
| (10) Year of renunciation | 571 B. C. at the age of 29 | 568 B. C. at the age of 30[54] |
| (11) Attainment of true knowledge | 543 B. C. at the age of 57 | 556 B. C. at the age of 42[55] |
| (12) Place of the above | Gayā | Bank of the river Ṛjuvālukā[56] |

(46) Some people now-a-days say, that the place where stand to-day the Rumindiāi and the Nigliva pillars of Aśok is the birth-place of Buddha. I am in favour of Kapilvastu. (Cf. f. n. no. 45 above. More details will be given in the account of Priyadarśin).

(47) Vol. I. pp. 120.

(48) Possibility is in favour of "Kāśyap"; but as he is famous at Gautam Buddha, a doubt is raised as to the genuine of "Kāśyap". (Cf. f. n. no. 32 and 49).

(49) Generally a mother's family name is not joined with the name of the son; his father's family name is joined. Sometimes, however, when a king had several queens, and many of them had sons, these sons were distinguished from one another by joining their mother's family names with their own names. Śuddhodan had neither many queens nor many sons. Some are of the opinion that he had two queens and that Buddha was brought up by his step-mother. But these two queens are said to have belonged to the same family. Even if we take for granted that for some unknown reason, Buddha bore the family name of his mother, yet we fail to understand why, as in the case of other princes, he was not called "Gautamīputra" or "Gautamī Buddha". It is possible that his father's family name may have been "Gautam" and his mother's "Kāśyap". The question deserved attention of scholars.

(50) P. 210 of the Jan. number of "Gaṅgā" (1931). K. S. S. Com. pp. 29.

(51) Kṣatriya stock.

(52) In Buddhist books he is called Nātput for this reason.

(53) Vol. I. pp. 362.

(54) Vol. I. pp. 364.

(55) Vol. I. pp. 366.

(56) Vol. I. pp. 285, f. n. no. 41.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (13) Place of death | Kuśinagar | Madhyam Apāpā =Pāvāpuri[57] |
| (14) Year of death | 520 B. C. at the age of 80 | 527 B. C. at the age of 72 |
| (15) Distinguishing sign on coins etc. | not known[58] | Lion |
| (16) Height | not known[59] | about 11 feet |

Jaina books[60] furnish the following details about Buddha:— Swayamprabha, the fifth monk in line from Pārśvanāth, had a disciple named Vihitāśva.[61] Siddhārth, the son of king Śuddhodan became his disciple[62] and had adopted the name, Buddhakirti.

(57) Vol. I. pp. 74, 75.

(58) Idolatry is accepted in Buddhism and idols do not require distinguishing marks for recognition. Again, Buddha was the founder and the only prophet in Buddhism. Jainism had 24 Tīrthankars or prophets hence such marks are necessary for distinguishing one from the other.

(59) It is possible that he must have been nearly as tall as Mahāvīr, because Mahāvīr had the common height of those times.

(60) A certain Digamber Jaina monk named Amitgati wrote a book named "Dharma Parīkṣā" in the 9th century A. D. Yati Bālchandrajī in one of his series of article in a Jaina monthly from Agra, (P. 8 of 19-7-34, under the title of "Jaina-Saṅgh-Bhed") has quoted verse 68 from chap. 18 of that book, which is as follows:—

Ruṣṭah śrī Vīrnāthasya tapasvī Mauḍilāyanah ।
Śiṣya śrī Pārśvanāthasya vidadhe Buddha-darśanām ॥

Meaning.—"Maudilāyan, the disciple of Pārśvanāth, being angry with Mahāvīr, started Buddhism."

The writer has added:—"The disciples of Pārśvanāth used to put on red-coloured clothes and maintained no relations with Mahāvīr, as they were angry with him." Thus Maudilāyan was none other than Gautam Buddha; we can easily understand why Buddhist books write that Buddha and Mahāvīr never met each other throughout their (subsequent) lives. See further question 2 in this chap. and the foot notes about it.

(61) f. n. no. 12 above.

(62) The four tenets preached by Pārśvanāth were also preached by Buddha; they are known as Aṇhaya in Buddhism. [Dr. Bhandarkar (pp. 127) has said so quoting from Dr. Buhler.] Thus Buddha, before he started Buddhism must have been a disciple of Pārśva.

He continued his discipleship for seven years and during these years had two disciples named Jalāyan and Śāriputra. While observing penance near a town named Palāsı on the banks of the Saryu, he got tired of the whole thing and gave up Jainism. Like Marichi, the grandson of Ṛṣabhdev, he began to preach a new faith which he named Buddhism[63], which differed in certain tenets from Jainism. Mahāvīr was alive for 14 years[64] after the Nirvāṇ of Buddha.

**Doubts and questions arising from statements made above**

I have stated above details about Buddha's life, some of which are unanimously supported by all[65] and in some of which literatures of different religions and writers of different times and climes widely diverge from one another. Below are raised questions arising from honest doubt on my part, and I request my readers to view them with the dispassionateness and logic of a reasonable student. No attempt is here made to find a hole in the statements, credited with veracity by well-known writers, simply for the sake of doing so.

*Question I*:—The first question is already stated and discussed in the foregoing pages, and hence we shall state it briefly. If Siddhārth's father's family name was "Kaśyap," how did he come to be called "Gautam" (?)[66]. Śuddhodan had no problem of

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(63) Buddhism must have been named after his own name or "Buddha" =one who has awakened (to a new sense of life), and hence a religion preached by such a man.

(64) According to Añjan Era, Buddha attained Nirvāṇ at the age of 59 in 541 B. C.; and 541-14=527 B. C. the year of Mahāvīr's death. Following these calculations, the interval between the Nirvāṇ and Parinirvāṇ of Buddha, would be 541-520=21 years; while in f. n. no. 20 and elsewhere, we have stated it to be 23 years. In favour of 21 years we have Jaina books and the Añjan Era concurring with each other in facts. Hence the balance goes in favour of 21 years and hence forth we adopt 541 B. C. as the year of Nirvāṇ. This also proves that the Eras adopted in the northern as well as southern books are not quite correct.

(65) These are stated in the foregoing pages.

(66) F. N, nos. 32, 48 and 49.

distinguishing many princes by many queens from one another, as he had neither.[67]

*Question II*:—Why did Siddhārth call his religion "Buddhism"? There are, no doubt, words like "Previous or Former Buddhas"[68] occurring in Buddhist books, but they refer to the previous births of Buddha. (Is it because, as a Jaina monk, his name was Buddha-kirti and that he did not change it after giving up Jainism?). Buddha means "wise"; why should he have selected such a common name to signify the religion started by him?[69] Or is it that his disciples have fixed up terms like "Gautam, Buddhism etc.?".

*Question III*:—It is a puzzle why Buddha did not preach anything or made no disciples for the first seven years after his renunciation. He began to preach at the age of 36, while he attained Nirvāṇ at the age of 57. This means that, though he attained perfect knowledge in 543 B. C., he had begun to preach 21 years ago. So his abstinence from preaching for the first seven years cannot be explained on the principle, that he did not think it proper so long as he had not attained perfect knowledge. His preachings before his attainment of perfect knowledge must certainly have contained errors and defects. Did Buddha correct them after his Nirvāṇ?

Here I am reminded of a tenet of Jainism. As long as a person destined to be a Tīrthaṅkar has not attained Kaivalya

(67) May be? his real family name must have been Gautam, while "Kāśyap," must have been added by Buddhist books later on. It deserves further inquiry.

(68) "Aśok" in the Rulers of India Series; P. 40, 54, 200 and F. N. on Rumindiāi inscriptions. Cf. f. n. no. 69 below.

(69) Ibid. pp. 54—"The relation of the cult of the "Former Buddhas" to the religion of Gautam, as already observed, is a subject concerning which very little is known." What is the necessity of using the term:—"Former Buddhas," when Buddha himself is the founder of the religion. This means that "Buddha" signifies, "Talented or Possessing knowledge", and experts have committed mistakes misconstruing the word "Buddha" into Gautam or his follower, in interpreting rock inscriptions, and thus fixing them as connected with Buddhism. More details will be given in the account of Priyadarśin.

Gñān, he does not preach[70] and makes no disciples. Hence Gośāla, the son of Mañkhali, could not have been a disciple of Mahāvīr as is believed by some scholars[71].

Gośala came accross Mahāvīr three years after Mahāvīr entered into holy orders. For next six years he accompanied Mahāvīr wherever he went, because he got all the comforts of his life from people, who welcomed and honoured Mahāvīr from village to village, and so he assiduously said to them that he was Mahāvīr's disciple. Mahāvīr observed the vow of silence during these years and never talked to Gośāla. Jainism has tenets which deserved more attention than they have been hitherto given.

*Question IV*:—Jalāyan and Śāriputra are claimed to have been Buddhists and disciples of Buddha by Buddhist books; on the other hand Jaina books declare them to be Jaina monks. Let us turn to evidence from rock inscriptions to settle this. Sāñchī stūpa has been described in "Bhilsā Topes" by Sir Cunningham, and he has found these two names on certain stone-boxes. If Sāñchī stūpa is proved to be connected with Jainism,[72] there can be no doubt that these two were Jaina monks. (See farther for this).

*Question V*:—Jaina tenets prove useful in deciding many questions. With the help of one of them, we could say (vide question no. 3 above) what relation existed between Mahāvīr and Gośāla; with the help of another we could solve the riddle of Bimbisār's religion in Vol. I. One other tenet says that great

(70) See f. n. no. 7 above.

(71) K. S. S. pp. 86. "Gośāla said to Mahāvīr:-"I am your disciple". Mahāvīr did not reply as he had taken the vow of silence. Again, on p. 22, the words "Gośāla, the apparent disciple" are stated.

(72) Details will be given in the account of Priyadarśin. It will be enough to state here that the Stūpa of Mathurā has been unanimously accepted as belonging to Jainism, by the western scholars. Why should the Sāñchī Stūpa which is quite identical in sculpture and design with it, not belong to Jainism? It contains names of kings like Chandragupta and Hāl Śālivāhan who have been proved to be Jaina kings.

men,—known as Śalākā-puruṣas as like Vāsudev, Prativāsudev, Balabhadra, Rāma, Chakravarti and Tīrthaṅkars, can exist only singly, at a particular time and in a particular place.[73] How can we explain this tenet in connection with Mahāvīr and Buddha living side by side?

Another tenet tells us that all the disciples of a previous Tīrthaṅkar declare themselves as disciples of the succeeding one, as soon as he attains Kaivalya stage. If we accept the facts stated in previous questions, Buddhakirti, formerly a disciple of Pārśvanāth, should have declared his allegiance to Mahāvīr in 556 B. C;[74] but history tells us that Buddha had begun to preach a different gospel right from 564 B. C. Now even the laity knew at that time that Mahāvīr was destined to be the last Tīrthaṅkar. Did Buddha strike out a new path in order to avoid accepting Mahāvīr as his leader? There is no reason why he should have done so, and he must have started the new religion quite in good faith;[75] but as soon as he attained Nirvāṇ in 543—a stage quite identical with Kaivalya – there is no reason why he preached a gospel different from that of Mahāvīr. Is it possible that Buddha himself did not make distinctions between Jainism and Buddhism after his Nirvāṇ, but the present differences are only the results of the narrow-mindedness of his disciples? History furnishes an

(73) Exceptions to this tenets are always foretold in Jainism, and are known as "Achchherās". But none of the books contain any allusion to Buddha and Mahāvīr.

K. S. S. Com. P. 21—

Uvasagga gavbhaharaṇaṁ itthītitthaṁ abhāviā parisā ı
Kaṇhassa avarkaṅkā, avarayaṇaṁ chandrasurāṇaṁ ıı 1 ıı
Harivaṁs kulappattī, chamaruppāo, aḍhasay sidhhā ı
Asañjayāṇapuā, dasaviaṇa teṇakāleṇa ıı 2 ıı

Let us take one instance from this quotation. Though there was one Vāsudev in Aparkaṅkā, another named Kṛṣṇa was to go there. This is called an exception.

(74) In Mahāvīra–times, Keśīmuni, a disciple of Pārśva, immediately came under the banner of Mahāvīr when he attained Kaivalya.

(75) Buddhism preaches four Anhayās. (Aśok by Bhandarkar pp. 127; vide f. n. no. 62 above). Mahāvīr has rejected five āśravas. (Third pillar inscription of Priyadarśin.)

instance which supports the last contention. The first conference of Buddhist monks was held immediately after the death of Buddha; why was it not held during his life time? Was it due to the fear that he would not have allowed them to make any distinctions between the two religions?

One might say that the conference was not held during Buddha's lifetime, because there were no differences and doubts to be settled. Does this mean that immediately after their leader's death, these disciples began to quarrel thus precipitating the conference?. Had Buddha not formed any definite rules about the conduct of life of these monks? Or was this hair-splitting suppressed as long as he was alive? All these things lead us to the conclusion that, what the condition of Buddhism might have been after Buddha's death is not definitely known, and hence these questions and doubts.

All the questions stated above give rise to one outstanding doubt about the equality of the stages of knowledge attained by Buddha and Mahāvīr—the doubt which might have a fact during their lives, or which might have been the result of the changes instituted in Buddhism after his death. Again Jainism has a tenet which might be helpful. When great persons are on the eve of birth, their mothers get some dreams, the maximum number of which, is fourteen.[76] The mother of an ordinary king[77] gets one dream, that of a Prativāsudev gets four; that of a Vāsudev, nine; and that of a Chakravartī or a Tīrthaṅkar gets fourteen. Jaina books are very explicit about the number of these dreams in the case of every great man. Ancient Buddhist books are silent about this thing. They do not state whether any dreams were dreamt by Buddha's mother. Modern Buddhist books tell us that Māyādevī, the mother of Buddha, saw in a dream, a white elephant

Pārśva and all the previous Tīrthankars have preached only four āsravas. Buddhakirti, being a disciple of Pārśva preached four Aṇhayas, following the four Āsravas of Jainism. (Buddhism, thus, may owe its origin to Jainism).

(76) The Digamber sect states that she had sixteen dreams.

(77) The number of such great men is 63. Vide Vol. I. pp. 44 f. n. no. 1; K. S. Com. pp. 66.

entering her womb[78]. Mahāvīr's mother had fourteen dreams. What does this lead us to believe ?.

**Spread of Buddhism in India (upto 370 B. C.)**

During Buddha's lifetime, no great king—like that of Magadh, Kośal, Kāśi, Kauśambi, Taxilā, Avanti, or Sindh-Sauvir—, as the coins prove it, ever accepted Buddhism as state religion.[79] They all followed Jainism, which thus patronized by kings, had spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. Buddhism had thus not much progressed in this country. There were internal dissentions among the chief Buddhist monks, and things came to such a pass that nearly a century after Buddha's death, on the fifteenth day of the eleventh year of the reign of Mahāpadma or Nanda II of Magadh, the second Buddhist conference was held in order to make reforms. Jainism being the state-religion, the progress of Buddhism was much retarded, even though its missionaries were very zealous and persevering; hence they began their activities in the farther south, going at last to Ceylon and making it their head quarters. The kings who succeeded Mahāpadma, as the coins prove, were all followers of Jainism, which, having non-violence as one of its principal tenets, never allowed its followers to do anything that retarded the spread of any other religion. Consequently, Buddhism, though it had not a large number of followers, continued to exist in India for two centuries and a half after its inception. With the accession of King Aśoka, fortune smiled upon it[80]. Aśoka was

(78) Cf. f. n. no. 45 above.

(79) It is not known what the distinguishing marks of Buddhism were; there must have been some signs, and it is possible that they must have been only slightly different.

The discovery of the coin bearing the likeness of a Buddhist king (like Aśoka, for instance), would be of great help. Ceylon promises to unearth such a coin in future. We have to remember, however, that as in India, so in Ceylon, the custom of printing religious signs had begun to disappear after 327 B. C. due to the contact with western people.

(80) I have exceeded the time-limit of the chapter here; but I thought it proper to finish off the account here as there would be no occasion to insert it anywhere else.

at first a Jain according to the tradition of his forefathers; but after his marriage with the beautiful Tiṣyarakṣitā, who was a Buddhist, he accepted Buddhism as his faith. Two children of Tiṣyarakṣita, a son and a daughter, embraced the Buddhist holy orders and became monk and nun. The third Buddhist conference was held at Pātliputra, during the seventeenth year of the reign of Aśoka, (313 B. C.). Representatives from Ceylon were also invited and a large number of monks[81] had actually travelled from Ceylon to Magadh to attend it. The conference continued for nine months, at the end of which it was decided that the deputation from Ceylon must return to Ceylon under the

(81) These monks have been wrongly called missionaries by some scholars; they were only representatives from Ceylon. They had not come to Magadh for propagandist purposes.

A comparison of some of the religious activities both of Aśok and Priyadarśin will not be inappropriate here:—

| Aśok | Priyadarśin |
|---|---|
| (1) Aśok had *invited* representatives from Ceylon to attend the third Budddist confeience. | (1) Priyadarśin had *sent* missionaries to distant countries to propagate his religion. |
| (2) He might have got pillar-inscriptions erected; but none of them is extant at present; Pillars, if at all erected by him, must not have been of great size. | (2) Pillars erected by him are extant to-day. Many of them are more than thirty feet in height. |
| (3) He has no rock-inscription to his credit. | (3) He has numerous. |
| (4) The descriptions of stout followers of Buddhism like Hu–en–Tśang do not agiee with the place and the number of inscriptions found to–day. | (4) Descriptions do agree with what and where they are to–day. |

It will be clear from this, that most of the rock and pillar-inscriptions found to-day are wrongly attributed to Aśok. (Here I must draw the reader's attention to the fact that Aśok and Priyadarśin are different individuals; they were not the names of the same person as most scholars imagine to–day. Aśok was a Buddhist while Priyadarśin was a Jain, and the grandson of Aśok. This will be dealt with in details further).

leadership of the son and the daughter of Aśoka[82]. The whole of southern India was under the sway of the fourth Āndhra king, Śātkarṇi First—Vadsatśree, Vilivaykur, Vasiṣṭhaputra, a powerful Jaina king[83], who would not allow this large deputation of Buddhists, touring with pomp and show, to pass through his kingdom. Hence Aśoka had arranged that the deputation should travel by sea[84] beginning the voyage from the mouth of the Mahānadī which was on the outskirts of his kingdom. With the death of Aśoka, however, Buddhism declined, and for eight succeeding centuries, was confined to Ceylon, as far as India was concerned. After that it rose to power once more.

**Spread of Buddhism outside India**

As Buddhism could not achieve much progress in India due to its powerful rival in Jainism,[85] Buddhist monks selected foreign countries as their fields of activities. Jaina monks, being handicapped by many rules governing the mode of travel from one country to another, and by many regulations about their food, refrained from foreign travel. Thus the way of the Buddhist monks became clear and easy[86], because they had no such regulations. Neither did they miss the opportunity. Crossing the northern frontier[87] they began their activities in Tibet[88] and China; while those who had gone to Ceylon, went further south and east towards Siām, Pināṅg, Jāvā and Sumātrā. They succeeded too

(82) Vide his account.

(83) Vide Chap. on coins. Coin no. 58; and f. n. no. 87 below.

(84) See the map of the kingdom of Aśok.

(85) Vide pp. 20 of the introduction to Vol. I.

(86) Vide pp. 12 for some of these rules.

(87) This must have been the straightest possible course for them. They could not go southwards as the whole of southern India, as shown above, was under the sway of a Jaina king.

(88) Cf. the account of Priyadarśin.

It is more possible that one group must have gone to Jāvā and Sumātrā by sea from Ceylon and the other passing through Indian China must have proceeded towards Burma and China. This second group must have selected Tibet as its headquarters.

well in these countries as Buddhism had derived[89] many of its tenets from Jainism[90]. Thus, their failure in India was more than amply compensated by their success in these countries which are Buddhist even to-day.

Mahāvīr, the last Jaina Tīrthankar, was born in Ksatriya-kundgrām, one of the three suburbs of Vaiśālī, the capital of Videha.[91] Entering the holy orders at the age of thirty, he attained Kaivalya Gñān, twelve years later, after observing severe penance for twelve years.[92] A certain brahmin of Gautam family, named Vasubhūti had three sons, named Indrabhūti,[93] Vāyubhūti and Agnibhūti, by his wife named Pṛthvī. These three and other eight equally learned scholars had begun animal sacrifice in company of their 4400 disciples. All these eleven scholars had their own doubts about certain tenets of the Vedic religion; but they never gave expression to them for the fear of being considered dull by others. Mahāvīr owing to his having attained Kaīvalya-gñān knew their doubts without asking them any questions, and solved them satisfactorily. Consequently, these scholars saw the superiority of Jainism to their own religion, and embraced it. Jainism spread quickly throughout the country, as these scholars together with their disciples, actively began to preach it in various countries. All great kings[94] accepted it[95].

**Jainism**

After the attainment of Kaivalya Gñān, Mahāvīr could see

(89) Buddhakirti was a Jaina monk before he founded Buddhism. Cf. f. n. no. 75 above.

(90) Cf. (in the account of Priyadarśin) how Jaina tenets are acceptable to all, and how easily it can be turned into universal religion

(91) Fāgaṇ number of Jaina Dharma Prakāsh, 1985, pp. 261 to 288; and the list given on pp. 11 of this volume.

(92) According to Jainism one is prohibited from preaching as long as he has not acquired Kaivalya Gñān. See f. n. no. 71 above.

(93) Indrabhūti became commonly known as Gautam. Some scholars mixed this Gautam with Gautam Buddha-error which gave rise to several misconceptions.

(94) 3rd. Chap. Vol. I, where sixteen chief kingdoms of India have been described.

(95) See their coins described further on.

that the fourth Ārā was to be shortly succeeded by the fifth, and that Avasarpiṇi[96] would exert its evil influence more and more upon the people. Famines would be more frequent than before and people would have to try harder for their maintenance. These conditions would necessitate the formation of a settled order of government in all phases of life. Inspired by such ideas of public welfare he directed Śreṇik and Abhayakumār in their task of social organization, as described in Vol. I.[97],—an organization that is highly spoken of by western scholars.[98]

**The origin of the present social structure**

The special feature of Śreṇik's plan was to divide people into guilds according to their professions. Every guild elected its own representatives,[99] the number of which depended on the importance of that profession; and these representatives were to form an assembly which was to enact laws for the guidance of political officers. Thus Bimbisār was given the name Śreṇik (builder of guilds), an instance of the custom of Jaina writers to give significant names to great persons.

Mahāvīr was also the originator of the political system of government existing to-day. Changes must have been made in the system, in course of time, but the original plan is still to be seen behind them. Religious structure no doubt had its source in Mahāvīr. An extract from a learned English writer, supported by another German one is given below to justify this statement.[101] The

(96) First two chapters of Vol. I.

(97) Vol. I. pp. 254.

(98) See further in this chapter.

(99) The words, "Grāmin, Śreṣṭin, Gṛhapati etc." which have been used in Vol. I. were representatives of such guilds. This makes it clear that republic form of government was first established by Mahāvīr.

(100) They were called "Paur-janas". Their assembly resemble the Municipal corporation of to-day. In Bimbisār's time their number was 500 and Abhayakumār was at their heads as the prime-minister. (Vol. I. pp. 257). They were a legislative body.

(101) C. H. I. pp. 169—On the evidence of Proc. of the A. S. B. 1898, pp. 63 says:—Dr. Hornele is no doubt right in maintaining that this good organization of the Jaina lay community must have been a factor of the greatest

present structure of society, the present system of political government and the present religious constitution, thus, are the rich fruits of Mahāvīr's capacity and zeal. Buddha[103] has left little to compare with the achievements of Mahāvīr, because his knowledge may have not been as perfect as that of Mahāvīr.

**Federal system of government and coins**

Every kingdom was thus republican in its form of government. As long as Time did not exert its evil influence on kings, they never annexed other kingdoms to their own kingdoms, even though they invaded them and forced the defeated kings to acknowledge their suzereinty. Consequently, coins of those times had no signs indicating the superiority of one king over the other.[104] They stamped their religious signs on the obverse side[105] and their family and provincial signs on the reverse side, in order to distinguish coins of different countries from one another. As the avarice of kings for land began to increase[106], organization of armies[107] became necessary, weapons were designed and manu-

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importance to the church, during the whole of its existence and may have been one of the main reasons why the Jaina religion continued to keep its position in India, while its far more important rival was entirely swept away by the Brahaminic reaction.' As Prof. Jacobi has pointed out that the religious life of the Jaina community is now substantially the same as it was two thousand years ago. It must be confessed from this that an absolute refusal to admit changes has been the strongest safeguard of the Jains." (These remarks pertain to the religious structure of the Jains only, but as further researches are being made and will be made, my state will be more than proved).

(102) Cf. Questions 3 and 5 given above.

(103) Woman was the chief cause of quarrel in those times; land was not given much importance.

(104) C. A. I. pp. 2–3. See coins of Takśilā. It was under the sway of Pulusāki, and then under that of several nations. See coins of Odambar, Kulund, Āyuddhā, Pāñchāl, Mathurā and of Ayodhyā. These kingdoms were subordinate to Kośal, yet they bear no signs of it.

(105) Obverse side is the chief side, and reverse is the subordinate.

(106) Udayanbhata had defeated all kingdoms upto Ceylon, yet every kingdom was fully independent in internal administration.

(107) It began from the rule of Nand I, though its seeds must have been laid by Udayanbhata.

factured,[108] though these weapons were not as deadly as those of to-day.[109] Inspite of this, kings were not fond of commemorating their own names. A change was made, however, in the coins. Religious sign was given the reverse side and family or provincial one was given the obverse[110]; while some coins of those times show pictures of kings commemorating some important event in their lives[111]. All these coins bear signs of Jainism which had spread from Magadh in the east to Sindh–Sauvir in the west, and from the Punjab in the north to Ceylon (Anuruddhapur[112]) in the south.[113]

Though all these kings were Jains, they frequently waged wars against many foreign foes. The present belief that Jains, believing in non–violence, are lacking in bravery and the use of weapons, is thus ill-founded[114–115]. In politics, the principle of non–violence;

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(108) These weapons were made out of stone and wood.

(109) Better weapons were made during the reign of Nand IX or during that of Chandragupta. (Vol. I, pp. 338 cf. Śakdāl's preparation of weapons at his own place). More organization of army and manufacture of better weapons resulted from the contact with foreign people beginning with Alexānder the Great.

(110) Cf. coins of Andhra, Kośāmbī, Takśilā and those of Chandragupta Maurya.

(111) See coin indicating how Ninth Nanda got his kingdom by Pañch-divya, and the coin indicating how Nandivardhan annexed the kingdom of Kośāmbī to his own. (When a king died without an heir, his kingdom was annexed to another. See account of Vatsa, pp. 209 of Ujjayiṇi, and of Aṅga.

(112) Vol. I. pp. 293.

(113) Coins of those countries bear signs of Jainism.

(114) Those who have studied ancient history will never say so; because there are many and glaring instances in ancient times (Udayanbhata, Nandivardhan) as well as in the middle ages (Kumārpāl, Vastupāl, Tejpāl, Sujjan and others)

(115) The belief that the religious policy of Priyadarśin was the main cause of the decline of Mauryas, is ill-founded. I will discuss in details in the account of Priyadarśin, who was not Aśok, as is commonly believed.

was observed with due discretion[116]. Otherwise these kings would never have been powerful as they were, and would have perished in no time.

Many instances of the influence of Nature and Time have already been given in the first volume. Some more are enumerated here. They refer to Buddhism and Brahminism. One of them was the second Buddhist conference [117], and the second was the cessation of the Udhiṣṭhira era and the beginning of the Kali era.[118]. These changes took place in the beginning of the twelfth year of king Nand II.

**Influence of Nature and Time**

As time passed on, people began to deteriorate physically. Their memory began to grow less sharp than before; as a consequence of which learned men decided to put down everything in writing[119]. The king who took the initiative in getting religious books written was Khārvel[120], while Nand IX was the king who got books written on sociology and other subjects of general knowledge,[121] by establishing the university of Nālandā, where he engaged many scholars, among whom was the famous trio from the Punjab.

The fifth Ārā did not exert its influence in the field of knowledge only. Famines became more frequent, as a result of which

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(116) Mahātmā Gandhi's movement of civil disobedience is based on this principle.

(117) Vide the previous pages of this chapter for details.

(118) There has been no occasion to write in details about this. But it will be clearer if the attempt of Nand IX to exterminate kṣatriyas is placed side by side with the beginning of the Kali era.

(119) The art of writing began at this time. Coins began to bear names from this time onwards. (See coins of Kauśāmbī, and those of Nanda kings). Cf. f. n. no. 121 below.

(120) See the inscription of Hāthīgumfā.

(121) Vide his account. Pāṇini wrote his grammar at this time. Possibly Chāṇākya must have planned to write his Arthaśāstra at this time, but the idea must have been postponed due to the desire for vengeance taking possession of his mind.

Nand I had to get a canal dug from the Ganges,[122] (The first of its kind in history), from which a sister canal was dug by Khārvel for the province of Kaling.

With the greater frequency of famines, people had to worry more about their means of livelihood. Instead of staying separately in small groups, they began to have a collective existence, required more land to inhabit, which they found at the cost of cutting down forests. This again resulted into still greater frequency of famines.[123]

In former times pupils could recite things which they heard only once from their preceptors. This occurrence began to be rarer with the progress of time. The seven daughters of Śakdāl, the prime-minister of Mahānand, could recite one by one the verses which were only once sung by Kātyāyan-Varruchi.[124] Such things became conspicuous by their absence later on. This kind of memory was to be found only upto the time of Sthūlbhadra, the son of Śakdāl[125]. The last Jaina monk, who had such memory, was Bhadrabāhu,[126] the spiritual uncle of Sthūlbhadra.

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(122) See the Hāthīgumfā inscription. I believe that this famine must have taken place after M. E. 60 or 467 B. C. See the time-list at the end.

(123) Readers might not believe that these events were predicted in Jaina books. but events themselves prove the truth of the prophecy. Vide chap. I & II. Vol. I.

(124) Vol. I. pp. 336, f. n. no. 43.

(125) Cf. f. n. no 7 above.

(126) Chandragupta had entered Jaina holy orders as a disciple of Bhadrabāhu, who had also travelled to Śravaṇ-belgol in the Deccan. Here is the chronological list of Jaina monks:—

Mahāvīr

(1) Sudharmā (M. E. 1 to 12)

(2) Jambu ( „ 12 to 20)

(3) Prabhav ( „ 20 to 75)

(4) Śayyambhava ( „ 75 to 98)

(5) Yaśobhadra ( „ 98 to 148)

(6) (a) Sāmbhūti ( „ 148 to 156)
(b) Bhadrabāhu ( „ 156 to 170)

(7) Sthūlbhadra ( „ 170 to 215)

(8) (a) Mahāgiri ( „ 215 to 249)
(b) Suhasti ( „ 249 to 292) the preceptor of Priyadarśin

At this time, a decade witnessed two famines, one following the other after an interval of only seven years. The first took place at the beginning of the rule of Chandragupta Maurya[127] and the second, and the more terrible, at its end.[128] Harassed by the second which lasted for twelve years, the chief monk Bhadrabāhu had gone southwards with a large number of disciples, as there was good rainfall there on account of denser forests. Some of his disciples who stayed in Magadh, became emaciated in body due to starvation[129]. So, Sthūlbhadra called a conference of the Jaina monks at Pātliputra[130] in order to get all Jaina lore and philosophy put down into writing, and achieved it.

**Beginning of the art of writing and of grammar**

The necessity of the art of writing was first felt in M. E. 60 or 467 B. C. during the rule of Nand I. (See coins of Nand and Āndhra dynasties). It developed very greatly during the reign of Khārvel who got the inscription of Hāthigumfā prepared (M. E. 111 or 416 B. C.) and got books written. (M. E. 112 or 415 B. C.)[131] Immediately after this Pāṇini wrote his grammar and taught it to many. Written records of orders, laws and transactions began to be kept Correspondence and communications began to increase between nations and between people. Foreigners heard of the prosperity and the splendour of India, and began to make attempts to invade it. Their dream was realized by Alexander the great, who would have stayed in India longer than he did, had not his soldiers clamoured for returning home, which they had left years ago, and who consequently returned home taking with him some traits of Indian

(127) Vide his account.

(128) See reasons given above. Cf. f. n. no. 126 above.

(129) Cf. Two Siddhas invisibly dined with Chandragupta.

(130) This gathering is known as "Pātliputra-vāchnā" in Jaina books. It is not unreasonable to say that these books were re-written during the reign of Khārvel under his own patronage. (Vide his account).

(131) Writing was done with and upon very crude materials. Yet when the matter was lengthy, longer sheets like leaves of palm-tree, bhoj-tree or plaintain-tree were used, in place of bricks or such other things. Cf. Vol. I. pp. 36.

culture,[132] and leaving behind some of his generals. No sooner did he turn his back to India than these generals began to fight with one another. During the next twenty-five years, India was invaded by several foreigners. At last Salucus Nekator had to come to terms with Aśok (M. E. 223 or B. C. 304),[133] who married his daughter, thus mixing[134] the oriental blood with the occidental. All these things contributed to the growth of the art of writing, some specimens of which we see in the inscription upon lake Sudarśan, and the rock and the pillar incription of Priyadarśin.

The reader should not labour under the erroneous conception that there was nothing like the art of writing prior to these times. As a matter of fact the memory of the people was so sharp that they felt little need of the art of writing. Momentous occasions were always commemorated in a script that was crude and in a language that did not follow any fixed rules of grammar. Ink and other materials for writing did not exist in those times, and hence we do not find any written documents of those times to-day.

To the end of the rule of Aśok, Jainism dominated in India, while Buddhism and the Vedic religion had little sway over the people. This was not due to Jaina kings forcing their subjects or subordinate kings to follow Jainism. Religious tolerance prevailed everywhere, as is proved by the undeniable authority of coins. The king who conquered, no doubt, got his religious sign inserted on the coin of the vanquished king, but that was all. Chapters on coins will throw much light on this subject. Buddhism and

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(132) Western civilization began to mix with the eastern one from this time on wards. Cf. f. n. no. 134 below.

(133) For peace-terms, vide the account of Aśok.

(134) This is the first instance of its kind.

The scholars generally believe that Chandragupta, whom they have identified with Sandrekottus, was the first to marry a foreign girl of the Pallāva race and that this Pallava chief mentioned in the Sudarśan lake inscription was a member of the Pallava caste, which they consider to be a foreign race. The fact is that the Pallavas or Palhavas were not foreigners but a section of the Lichchhavi kṣatriyas. It is proved in Vol. I. pp. 349.

the Vedic religion had also their periods of boom, the former in the reign of Aśok[135], and the latter during the rule of Śuṅga kings[136].

The Vedic religion

Out of the three religions that existed in ancient India, one was comparatively younger than the other two. This was Buddhism. Jainism and the Vedic religion were both time-old; but we are not concerned here with the question, which of them was older than the other.

Again both Buddhism and Jainism had their founders. Buddhism had one and Jainism had twenty-four, who succeeded one another at long intervals. The Vedic religion, however, had no one individual as its founder, and it is therefore called A-pauruṣeya (founded by no one individual). Its origin is unknown.

Both Jainism and the Vedic religion are time-old rivals, each supplanting or giving way to the other, as opportunities occurred. Jainism however had always the upper hand, as its tenets were more catholic than those of the other.

In support of this statement I request the reader first to look to quotations from foreign writers in the preface to vol. I, and then to the following quotation from Vincent Smith[137-138] "The association of the idea of duty with caste is dropped by Aśok" (the writer really means Priyadarśin, as he has made the above statement in his description of the inscriptions of Priyadarśin) "and two virtues, namely respect for the sanctity of animal life and reverence to parents, superiors and elders are given a place, far more important than that assigned to them in Hindu teaching"[139]. With regard to this quotation, I have to

(135) Vide his account.

(136) Their accounts will be given later on.

(137-138) Rulers of India Series "Aśok", pp. 30.

The two virtues, mentioned here by Mr. Vincent Smith as present, though in a lesser degree, in the Vedic religion, were not in fact so, in that religion. Animal sacrifices actually endangered the "Sanctity of animal life" in the Vedic religion.

(139) There were no "castes" in those times in the sense of the word at present. Writers have always used this word in the sense of one of the four "classes". (Vol. I. pp. 25).

utter a word of caution. Scholars generally believe that Aśok and Priyadarśin were one and the same individuals. Really speaking they were two different individuals, having different religions. Priyadarśin was a Jain[140], and hence this quotation proves the superiority of Jainism to the Vedic religion[141]. The reader may hesitate to believe this, and hence, I propose to give another piece of evidence here, similar to those given in previous pages[142]. Jaina literature states beyond possibility of doubt, that many learned Vedic brahmins[143] embraced Jainism, after making a deep study of its principles and after minutely comparing it with the Vedic religion. Then they became great Jaina monks[144] in line with Mahāvīr, and spread Jainism in every corner of India. The preceptor of Priyadarśin himself was a brahmin at first.

Statements made above should not lead any one to believe that the Vedic religion had never any strong hold over the people. On the contrary, before the advent of Mahāvīr, it had its palmy days with animal sacrifices in full swing. After Mahāvīr attained Kaivalya and made the three Gautam brothers, Indrabhūti, Vāyubhūti and Agnibbūti, with their eight brother preceptors and 4400 pupils, staunch converts to Jainism, the Vedic religion was on its decline, which was aggravated by the advent of a new rival in

(140) Vide his account.

(141) Cf. f. n. no. 139 above.

(142) Vol. I. pp. 31–32 for details.

(143) F. n. no. 6 above for instances.

(144) Some instances are given below for the satisfaction of the reader.

Mahāvīr had eleven chief disciples who had 4400 pupils. These eleven were the three Gautam brothers and their eight friends. The eldest brother Indrabhūti became commonly known as Gautam and has often been mistakenly taken for Gautam Buddha and confused with him.

A list of the disciples of Mahāvīr is given in f. n. no. 126 above, out of whom all were converted from the Vedic religion, except nos. 2 and 3.

Chānākya, Varāhmihir, the great astrologer and the brother of Bhadrabāhu were also Jains. (The date of this Varāhmihir is M. E. 150 or B. C. 377, while the date of another Varāhmihir, who followed the Vedic religion, was the 5th or the 6th century B. C.).

Buddhism. The hundred and twelve years of the rule of Śuṅgas were again the golden period in the career of the Vedic religion, the chief reviver was the great commentator, Patañjali. The time-limit for this volume does not permit any more details about the Vedic religion here. We shall have them in the third volume.

The cycle of involution and evolution is bound to bring about the revival of both these time-old religions in future.

## Appendix

Readers will generally feel that in most cases I differ from other writers in things, the truth of which has been commonly accepted. They will particularly feel that most of the things ascribed to Buddhism by other writers, are being attempted to be proved to have belonged to Jainism by me I have certainly forwarded many reasons and many pieces of evidence for my theories. A list of these will not only, not be out of place here, but of great help to readers who are conscientious and willing to learn the truth.

**Points arising from rock-inscriptions, coins and pictures**[1]

(1) Both Sāñchī and Bhārhut stūpas are built on the same model. One of the Sāñchī stūpa contains the mention of Chandragupta's large donation. Chandragupta has been proved to be a Jain. Hence Sāñchī and Bhārhut stūpas are connected with Jainism.

(2) Most coins have signs like Tri-ratna, Chaitaya and Bodhi tree. Sir Cunningham asserts that they did not belong to Buddhism. He says[2]. "The coins themselves do not present any traces of Buddhism except the Bodhi tree, and the combined symbols of the Tri-ratna and Dharma-chakra. Neither also do they show any special traces of Brahminism except in the names of Śiva and Vāyu". Evidently the coins belong to the remaining religion Jainism, and so do the signs mentioned above.

(3) What evidence have we to prove that the above-stated signs are connected with Buddhism?

(1) Details about this will be discussed in the chapter on coins.

(2) C. A. I. pp. 91; chap. on coins further f. n. no. 1 above.

(4) Do any ancient Buddhist books contain any mention of these signs? (Vol. I. Vide account of Ajātśatru, wherein are given details about "Lalitvistar").

(5) The design of the gates of Sāñchī, Bhārhut and Mathurā is the same. (Vol. I. pp. 189 fig. no. 31, 32, 33, 34). Why then should we connect only Mathurā stūpa with Jainism and the other two with Buddhism?

(6) The sign of Buddha is always his idol.

(B. I. pp. 15; Vol. I. pp. 287 f. n. 27 & pp. 289 f. n. 53. Nowhere has it been found that his sign was the imprint of his feet. The Ajātśatru Pillar (Bhārhut Stūpa; Plates No. 16 and 17) has only imprint of feet. Does this not lead us to conclude that the pillar is not connected with Buddhism?[3]

(7) Again it has been proved that Ajātśatru was a Jain. (Vol. I. his account). Bhārhut Stūpa contains the following words "Bhagavate vandate Ajātśatru" (Ajātśatru salutes to the Bhagavat). To which religion do these words point?

(8) Bhārhut contains the pillar of Prasenjit also, who has been proved to be a Jain. Some of the pictures in this pillar correspond to certain important events described in Jaina books. To what religion can this pillar be said to belong?

(9) Sāñchī Stūpa contains the name of king Śālivāhan of Āndhra. Did Śālivāhan or any of his descendants ever embrace Buddhism? Do any ancient or modern books say so? Undoubtedly no. Jaina books clearly state that Śālivāhan had gone on a pilgrimage to mount Śatruñjay in Saurāṣtra and had got some ruined temples repaired under the guidance of a monk named Ārya Khapuṭ (Vol. IV).

(10) Most of the pillar inscriptions extant to-day have the sign of the figure of the lion at the top. Only one or two have not, and even in the case of these, they must have been removed either by some persons in the past or by some accidents to these pillars[4]. Is there any mention of this sign in Buddhist books?

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(3) See f n. nos. 7, 9 etc. quotations from experts are given there.

(4) If, for any reason, the figure may not be of that kind, vide the account of Priyadarśin.

Jaina books, on the contrary, do declare that lion was the sign or symbol of Mahāvīr[5].

(11) The pillar inscriptions of Nigliv and Rumindiāi have this sign. What do the word "Buddha" and "Jāta," found in these inscriptions, mean?[6] Do Buddhist books contain any mention of these inscription-places.

(12) The signs Dharma-chakra, Chaitya and others are found in the Punjab, Kaśmīr and other countries. Did Buddha ever go there? Or do ancient Buddhist books contain any mention of any such visit?

(13) Some stone-boxes have been found at the Sāñchi Stūpa. Certain letters are inscribed on many of these. Why do scholars find it difficult to fix these names as those of Buddhist monks?[7]

(14) The Bhārhut and Sāñchi stūpas[8] are quite similar in design to Amarāoti Stūpa[9] in Dhankatak and to Mānikyāl Stūpa in Punjab. Again, the rock-inscriptions in Afganistan and Peśāvar contain a reference to Pārśvānāth who was a Jaina Tīrthankar, and not a Buddhist monk. Do any Buddhist books contain any mention of these Stūpas?

(15) Do any ancient books contain any description of any peculiarities of any of these stūpas?

(16) Hu-en-Tśang, the famous Chinese Buddhist traveller, had visited India, with the intention of collecting all available historical material about his religion. His descriptions of his travels are considered to be faithful and reliable records by all

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(5) Why the image of a lion is placed at the top of this pillar inscription, will be explained in the chapter on Priyadarśin. For more details the readers are requested to read my "Life of Mahāvīr" which is to be published shortly.

(6) For its meaning vide my "Account of Priyadarśin" which is to be published later on.

(7) For explanations vide my "Life of Mahāvīr" and "Life of Priyadarśin", both of which are to be shortly published.

(8) Vol. I. pp. 189. The design of all these four pillars is quite similar,

(9) For details vide Vol. I. pp. 149.

scholars to-day. These books contain minute descriptions of all the pillars connected with Buddhism, and even the smallest have not been neglected by him. Yet they do not contain any reference to the large pillars mentioned in the foregoing points. That can certainly not be called an oversight on the part of so faithful a recorder like him who has mentioned all small pillars also. Does this not prove that these larger pillars belong to some other religion ?

(17) The region about Avanti which is crowded with stūpas, the chief among which are the Sāñchi stūpas. Hu-en-Tśang has described all small pillars that are here, and has alluded to some that were destroyed. But *he has made no mention whatsoever* of those majestic pillars towering above eighty to ninty feet and nearly 150 to 180 feet broad. Does this mean that they were erected after the *time* of Hu-en-Tśang or that they must have been buried in the earth at the time of his visit, and unearthed afterwards ? Had such been the case, some mention of it must have been made somewhere in history. But there is no such mention. Why, then, did he not describe them ?

(18) Do reliable Buddhist books like Mahāvaṁśa or Dipvaṁśa tell us anything about these gigantic[10] pillars ? If they tell us what is their drift ?

(19) Do any Buddhist temple in Burma or Ceylon, known as Pagodas, have any similarity with these pillars ? Do we find any figures of elephants, horses or lions in these temples, as we do find, in Jaina temples and in the Amarāoti stūpas ?

(20) Many scenes in Bhārhut stūpa are said to be illustrating incidents narrated in Jātaka tales. Sir Cunningham, however, says that out of nearly five hundred Jātaka tales found in Buddhist books, only ten or twelve have any correspondence with these sights, and that too when the meaning had to be twisted in nine cases out of ten. This has been said by a Buddhist monk of

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(10) Vol. I. figure no. 32, 1933 Jan. number of "Gaṅgā", which is the special number for antiquity. Pictures are given on pp. 97 of that number, the Government Communique about which was published in Dec. 1931. Cf. the pictures of Pagodas given on pp. 176, 177. (Fig. no. 142 to 146), with the figure given on pp. 97.

that time who was reputed to be very learned. What is the reason behind this ?

(21) One of the scenes in Bhārhut pillar illustrates the dream of a certain Māyādevī, whom some scholars have fixed up as the mother of Buddha. These scholars assert that the dream was dreamt by Māyādevī when Buddha was in the womb. Two questions arise here which do not agree with these statements:— (1) Was the name of Buddha's mother Yaśodharā or Māyādevī? What do ancient Buddhist books say about it? (2) Would such a dream be illustrated at a place where Buddha was born or anywhere else ? Or was Buddha born here ? Or, taking for granted that the scene refers to some incident in the life of Buddha, did any such incident take place here?

(22) Do any ancient Buddhist books contain any mention of Buddha having ever visited the places where the stūpas of Sāñchī, Bhārhut and Mathurā are erected? Or do they tell us of any important event in the career of Buddhism having ever occurred there? Why are there no pillars and inscriptions at these places which Buddha is said to have frequently visited and at which momentous events of his life to have taken place?

(23) Does any ancient book tell us that Buddha ever visited the Punjab? How do we, then, account for the spread of Buddhism there. Some say that his disciples visited the place. Do the remains of Taxila agree with the time of their going there ?

Only twenty-three points have been raised here. Many more can be raised, but the size of the book does not permit. Only some more points are given below, which the readers will find very stimulative to thought:—

(B) (1) No doubt, all pillar and rock inscriptions go to the credit of Priyadarśin;[11] but what reasons lead us to believe that Priyadarśin was no other than Aśok? No Buddhist books contain the word Priyadarśin as referring to Aśok. Certain Siṃhālese books do sometimes have the word Devāṇāṃpriya[12]

(11) Cf. the f. n. no. 12 & 13 below.

(12) This word means:—"Dear to gods". According to K. S. Com. 47; this word means "One whose nature is straight-forward".

or Priyadarśan;[13] but these words are used as adjectives of Aśok and not as his other names. We have already seen that they are different individuals[14] We will discuss the problem in details in the account of Priyadarśin[15].

(2) What reasons have we got to support the contention that Priyadarśin was a Buddhist ? (cf. point 11 above). The figure 256 in the inscription of Sahasrām by Priyadarśin, has not yet been interpreted by any scholars.[16] It is my opinion that it refers to the Mahāvīr Era.[17] If it is so proved, can we call Priyadarśin a Buddhist or a Jaina ? and which era would a king in such cases adopt in his inscriptions ?

(3) Scholars differed from one another as to the identity of Aśok and Priyadarśin as long as the rock–inscription of Maski was not found out. When they came across the "Aśokassa," they fixed it up that the identity was established beyond cavils of doubt. The word itself, however, is not in the Nominative case but in the Genitive, and hence cannot be accepted as the subject of the part in that sentence.[18] Again there is a blank space after this word. How can we explain it unless by saying that some noun in the Nominative must have been then to which this word "Aśokassa" clearly refers ? This word must probably have been "Pautra, Anuj, Vanśaj," (any word meaning grandson or descendant). The whole phrase would thus probably be Aśokasya–pautra, (the grandson of Aśok), who must be taken as the person responsible for all these inscriptions.

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(13) Please note that it is Priyadarśan and not Priyadarśin. Even if it is the latter word, it is used as an adjective. For more details vide the account of Priyadarśin.

(14) Vol. I. Preface 9 and pp. 82, f. n. no. 37.

(15) Vide the account of Priyadarśin in this book, as well as "Life of Priyadarśin" to be published later on by me.

(16) Scholars have interpreted it as "256 nights".

(17) Vide the account of Priyadarśin.

(18) I take this occasion to thank Diwān Bahādur Keśavlāl Harṣadrāi Dhruva who had first drawn my attention to this. (I am sorry he is now dead.)

(4) Modern books assert that Ajātśatru was a Buddhist. In support of this they say that this king got the Sātpani caves built at his own expense. Though, no king can be said to have been the follower of a particular religion simply because he got some structure built for it, yet admitting that generally a king would grant money for structures connected with his own religion, do any ancient Buddhist books contain any mention of it? Rock-inscriptions and Jaina books have, on the contrary, proved him to be a Jain.

(5) Do ancient Buddhist books say anything about Buddha ever having visited the places where we find to-day pillar and rock-inscriptions? or do they tell us that any important events connected with Buddhism ever took place there?

(6) Why did the founder of Buddhism become known as Buddha? His original name was Siddhārth Gautam. (Question 5 in the foregoing pages); there is not the slightest tinge of the word in his name.

(7) It is said on one hand that Buddhism was started by Buddha. On the other hand, events from the lives of previous births of Buddha are narrated? To what religion, then, do these tales belong? They can certainly not be connected with Buddhism, as it had its inception from Buddha.

(8) If in reply to the point no. 7., it is said that Buddha did not form an entirely new creed, but Buddhism was the result of certain alterations in tenets borrowed from another faith? Which was this faith? When did he study the tenets of this older faith? Does this not lead us to look into Jaina books for further information?[19]

(9) In reference to the origin of Takśilā; it is stated that Buddha, had his birth in mankind, in one of his previous[20] lives, and that he had sacrificed his head in order to satisfy the hunger of a starving tiger. If this is true, we shall have to admit that

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(19) F. n. no. 60 on pp. 12 and f. n. no. 12 on pp. 35.

(20) The previous five births of Buddha were those of animals and not of human beings. Hence this must have taken place even before that.

Taksilā existed long before the birth of Buddha. This means that either the former story is false or that Takšilā was on the globe years before Buddha was born. Vedic and Jaina books tell us that Taksilā was a city in times much older than that of Buddha. Thus we find many contradictions in Buddhist books.

(10) Same is the difficulty with the Jyesthavan of Śrāvastī. All its descriptions have been derived from Bhārhut and Bhilsā stūpas.

(11) In support of the statement given above, I draw the readers' attention to the difficulty that is experienced and the twisting of meanings that has been necessary in establishing relations between the persons of Kaudinya and Śrughna families. Does this not give rise to the idea that there is something wrong at the very bases of these interpretations?

(12) Many things described in the inscriptions which are connected by scholars with Aśoka, do not at all agree with facts stated in Buddhist books[21] about the life of Aśoka[22]. Do this not lead us to a question similar to one stated in point no. 11 above.

(13) Even Greek books tell the same tale. I draw the readers' attention to a big paragraph quoted (in the account of Aśoka) from Mr. Crendel's translation of the descriptions of Megasthenis. Though this is not directly connected with Buddhism, yet I have referred to it, as it is indirectly concerned with it.

Thus I have stated in all 36 points above, on the evidence produced by coins, rock and pillar inscriptions and pictures. Many more points have been stated and will be stated as occasions arose or will arise for them. Why should we, then, not change our established beliefs, when there is such great weight of evidence against them. A single fault turns into two. Why not avoid this and be more neutral-minded?

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(21) Such instances are occasionally given in the account of Priyadaśin.

(22) Such instances are given in the account of Aśok.



# Chapter II

## Coins

**Synopsis:**—*Origin and purpose of coins—Details about them—their gradual development—their manufacture and varieties—Method of fixing their time—More details—their two sides—Religious signs stamped on them—their meanings—Conjectures of scholars about these signs—Explanations about them—How these coins and signs are connected with certain places, countries, families or exceptional occasions.*

All nations require some means of exchange for selling and buying commodities, internally as well as among one-another. At present, we notice that this purpose is chiefly served by coins of various kinds as well as paper money. Though there is no evidence to show that the latter was used in former times, yet it is evident that coins were used since very early times. Jaina books, supported by books on Persian history[1], say that golden dust (known as Tejanturi in Jaina books) was also used for this purpose.

**Origin and purpose**

We cannot say definitely whether this dust was given by weight, by measure or by getting it into crude coins. In very early times the first two ways must have been adopted[2]; and later on, possibly during the rule of the Śiśunāga dynasty[3], as its coins are found to-day, the third one must also have been adopted. We can infer from this, that the credit of this novel ideas must go solely to Bimbisār, the maker of guilds.

This was in the 6th century B. C. Before that, the means of exchange, according to Mr. C. J. Brown[4], were as follows:—" Wealth in those early times being computed in cattle, it was only natural, the ox or cow should be employed for this purpose. In Europe then, and also in India, the cow stood as the higher unit of barter. At the lower end of the scale, for smaller purchases, stood another unit, which took various forms among different peoples—shells[5], beads[6], knives, and where those metals were discovered[7], bars of copper and iron." Merchants coming from

(1) Vol. I. pp. 70 and 252 about Cyrus and Darius.

(2) Vol. I. pp. 234.

(3) C. A. R. Plate no. 8, 207, 208. E. G. P. I.

(I have proved these coins to have belonged to Śiśunāga dynasty. (Vide chap. on coins).

(4) The Heritage of India Series. "Coins of India" by C. J. Brown M. A. pp. 12 (1922 edition).

(5) Even at present, some villages, remote from modern civilization, use shells.

(6) Pearl beads, empty walnuts, and sometimes corn, are still used in some villages at present.

(7) Metals, we can infer, must have been found out and begun to be used by men by this time.

distant countries must have naturally preferred jewels and such other more valuable things to these cattles[8] and other means. In course of time coins began to replace cattle and other commodities.

Coins were not struck, at first, from metals of ordinary value, which were given in forms of bars, pieces of various sizes and forms. Gold and silver were paid either in their crude or purified form. Possibly, as already said before, Bimbisār hit upon the ideas of coins as the most convenient form of payment. Every guild was empowered by him to have its coins stamped[9]. State control of currency was a later occurrence[10].

**Various kinds of coins**

Round or square sheets of metals,[11] were at first possibly heated, and then were punch-marked[12] as are the railway tickets and tramway tickets done to-day. Such coins were marked on one side only[12]. Later on, finding this punch-marking a tedious affair, people began to heat metals into liquid forms and then pour these liquid into dies made of clay. Sometimes, in this process, two coins which stuck with each other, were cut into two and separated and sometimes they were allowed by oversight to remain as they

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(8) The property of the eleven lay-disciples of Mahāvīr was measured and spoken of, the number of cows, every one possessed.

(9) Pieces of equal weight were used for coining.

(10) C. J. B. pp. 15. "It seems probable that in India as in Lydia, coins were actually struck by goldsmiths or silversmiths or perhaps by communal guilds (Seni)—It may perhaps, therefore, be conjectured that the "Punch-marked" piece was a natural development of the paper-huṇḍī or note of hand; that the coins had originally been struck by private merchants and guilds and had subsequently passed under royal control, that they at first bore the seal of the merchant or guild or combination of guilds, along with the seals of other guilds or communities, who accepted them."

(11) Sanskṛt writers call these coins Dharṇa or Parṇa etc. They were square or round thin pieces of copper slightly mixed with silver.

(12) C. J. B. pp. 15:—"The reverse side of these is very ancient coins was generally blank."

were. We see even to-day these double-coins.[13] Still later on another method was adopted. Pieces of metals were first of all heated, and while they were hot, were stamped with a die, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on both. At last mints were erected for coining purposes.

Thus there were four kinds of coins:—

(1) Punch-marked[14]
(2) Cast coins[15]
(3) Die-coins[16]
(4) Minted coins[17]

Punch-marked coins differ from die-struck coins in two ways.— (1) Punch-marked coins are often not properly stamped due to unevenness of pressure while pressing; (2) sometimes letters on the punching machine were worn out and so prints were faint even though the metals were properly pressed.

In die coins these two defects were avoided.

**Time of coins**

It is easy to fix up the time of coins for one particular country and dynasty; but it is difficult to do so in the case of the coins of various kingdoms, as one kingdom might have begun coining much earlier or much later than the other. We can, however, build general conclusions by keeping in view the coins of Magadh as it was the most powerful kingdom in ancient India.[18]

(1) Punch-marked coins:—They were first begun by various guilds during the rule of Bimbisār who divided people into guilds after 556 B. C.[19]

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(13) C. J. B. pp 18.—"This method of pouring liquid metal into moulds must have been of a very ancient origin. Sometimes these moulds were combined to-gether, as a result of which we see double-coins to-day. Such coins are usually nameless.

(14) See coins of the province of Eran in C. A. I.

(15) For instances see coins plate no. I, figs. no. 1, 2.

(16) Coins plate no. 1. fig. no. 4.

(17) Coins plate no. 1. fig. no. 6 and so on.

(18) I am chiefly responsible for the conclusions stated above. I have stated conclusions arrived at by other scholars for comparison.

(19) C. J. B. pp. 16:—"Punch-marked coins are indigenous in origin."

(2) Cast coins have been chiefly unearthed from the region of Kauśāmbī. Their time, therefore, can be settled as after 472 B. C.[20] as Nanda kings established their sway over this country after this time.

(3) Die struck[21] coins are found from the region about Taxila and are generally believed to have been struck during the rule of Priyādarśin. (220 B. C. outwards)[22].

(4) Minted coins began to be struck during the reign of king Vīkramāditya Śakāri of the Gardabhīl dynasty. (B. C. 57).

These conclusions are open to change as further means of investigation and pieces of evidence are found out.

**Other details**

Only general description of these coins is attempted here. Readers wishing to obtain more information must read books entirely written about them.[23]

The obverse[24] side of the coin is always of greater importance than the reverse. This maxim will be important in deciding many

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(20) C. J. B. pp. 18.—"The earliest of these copper coins, some of which may be as early as the fifth century B. C. were cast. (pp. 19). We find such coins being used at the close of the third century by kingdoms of Kauśāṃbī, Ayodhyā and Mathurā."

(21) See f. n. no. 22 below.

(22) C. J. B. pp. 18.—"The earliest die-struck coins with a device of the coin only, have been assigned to the end of the 4th century B. C. (3rd. according to my calculations). Some of these with a lion-device, were certainly struck at Takṣilā, where they are chiefly found. (pp. 19). The method of striking these early coins was peculiar, in that the die was impressed on the metal when hot, so that a deep square incuse, which contains the device appears on the coin."

(23) Two of the most authoritative are.—"Cat. of coins of Āndhra Dynasty" by Dr. Rapson (Intro. from clxv to ccviii), and "Coins of Ancient India" by Sir A. Cunningham.

(24) C. A. R. Pref. XV. pp. 14. "When one side of a coin tends to be convex, that is to say when the type has been impressed from the lower die which was fixed on the anvil, it is called obverse; when, on the other hand, it tends to be incuse, that is to say, when it bears the impression of the upper die which was fixed on to the punch, it is called reverse."

things in ancient Indian history. For instance, it can be deduced, without much fear of contradiction, that the sign of the sovereign king was stamped on the obverse side, while that of a subordinate king was done on the reverse one. Sometimes the same sign is stamped on the obverse side of one kind of coins and on the reverse one of another kind of coins, thus showing the political and other changes that must have taken place between the intervals of stamping of these coins.

**The two sides of the coins**

Kings in ancient India were not very parlicular about getting their portrait-heads embossed on the coins. The obverse side generally contained some sign or signs indicating their country, family or dynasty. The reverse side was generally reserved for the religious sign.[25] Signs indicating price or nationality were not yet stamped on that side. As time went on, ideas began to change, and kings began to introduce their names and titles in the coins,[26] though none had yet gone so far as to get his portrait-head embossed. This began after the Indian rulers came into contact with foreigners.[27] The first king who got his portrait-head stamped on the coin was Nahapāṇ of Avanti (114 B. C.), who succeeded his father Bhumak[28] and a long line of foreign rules like Demetrius and Menander. We should, however, take into consideration the fact that only Nahapāṇ had come to the throne of Avanti. Again his predecessors had not given up their foreign title of Mahākṣatrap, even though they ruled in India. Nahapāṇ on the other hand assumed the Indian title of the "Rājan"[29]. Thus he had made many innovations. He seems to have changed

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(25) See coins of Nāga and Śiśunāga dynasty. (Nos. 44 to 46).

(26) Coins of Āndhra and Nanda dynasties.

(27) C. J. B. pp, 25. "These models, the Indo-Greek kings introduced Greek types and among them the portrait-head into Indian coinage and their examples was followed for eight centuries.

(28) I mean, these foreigners got their portrait-heads stamped on the coins but no Indian king adopted the custom. Nahapāṇ was the first to do so, and that too, after he came to the throne of Avanti.

(29) Vide the account of his kingdom.

his name even to Nabhovāhan or Narvāhan, though we do not get any coin or inscription to prove it. The moment his rule ended[30] (74 B. C)., Avanti came under the sway of Indian kings once more, with the results that coins of the old type became current again. This continued upto the accession of Chasṭhaṇ to the throne of Avanti[31]. There arises no question of Chasṭhaṇ's father getting his portrait-head stamped on the coins, as he never came to the throne of Avanti.

The reverse side is not so difficult to interpret as the obverse; as that side was mainly reserved for religious signs, right from the 6th century B. C. to the 1st century. When the obverse side began to have the portraits of kings, family signs were taken over to the reverse; while figures indicating date were always stamped on the obverse side

There are some coins which have one side totally blank[32]. Their number is very small.

Extraordinary occasions were always taken note of, in coins, and often new coins were struck in celebration of these. ( See the coins of Nand I and Nand IX ). More details are given furtheron.

**Metal and religious signs**

Coins were struck from valuable metals like gold and silver[33] and also from copper, zinc, lead and other metals, including among them potin and billon[34].

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(30) Vide their accounts for details. Their coins will tell us the changes they have made.

(31) The kings of Kuśāna dynasty have also got their portrait-heads stamped. But these kings were also foreigners.

(32) These coins are mainly punch-marked.

(33) Coin experts have fixed up the following signs for different coins:—

Copper=Æ Silver=A. R. AR

Gold=A. AV Lead=L. Ŀ

(34) J. C. B. pp. 21.—"Billon or Potin is a mixture of silver and copper in varying proportion; most Āndhra coins are either of Billon or lead with Brāhmī legends on both obverse and reverse.

Only three religions existed in those times, Jainism, Buddhism and the Vedic religion; out of which, Jainism predominated everywhere. As a result we find that most of the coins have signs which do not refer to the Vedic religion.

Of the two remaining religions, I have not yet been able to make out the difference between their signs. But Buddhism owes its origin to Jainism[35] and hence both of them have very similar or nearly the same tenets. This makes it very difficult to distinguish between their signs. In ancient times, however, of all the kings that ruled various countries, only Aśoka was a staunch Buddhist. It follows from this, that Jainism being the state religion in nine cases out of ten, most of the signs that we find on the coins to-day must refer to Jainism. It is with not a little regret that I have to draw the reader's attention to the fact, that most scholars have mistakenly taken for granted that these signs refer to Buddhism–a natural result of want of study on their part of Jaina literature.[36] If we, by chance, come into possession of the coins of Aśoka this dispute would be at an end.

I have given below short notes on these signs:—

(1–2) Lion and Serpent:—Everyone of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkars has his own distinguishing sign. That of Pārśvanāth, the twenty–third Tīrthaṅkar, is the serpent, and that of Mahāvīr is the lion. The coin bearing the sign of the serpent thus indicated that the king responsible for it was the follower of Pārśvānāth, and that bearing the sign of the lion showed that the king who got it struck was a follower of Mahāvīr.

As already said before, Jaina Tīrthaṅkars do not begin to preach or have disciples as long as they have not attained the Kaivalya stage;[37] Mahāvīr attained this in 456 B. C. Hence, coins bearing the sign of the serpent must belong to the time before 556 B. C., and those bearing the sign of the lion

(35) F. n. no. 3 above.

(56) This point will be discussed in a special paragraph later on.

(37) F. n. no. 3 above and the matter connected with it.

must[38] belong to the time after that date. (See C. A. I. Plate No. 3 fig. no. 1 and the pillar of Sārnāth etc.

(3) [sign] [sign] [sign] Each of these figures contains different number of heaps. They can be variously interpreted. They are indicative of certain peculiarities of Jainism.

These heaps can be interpreted as Ratna–traya (three jewels). Six can be interpreted as indicating six schools of philosophy, while the figure itself can be taken to mean that Jainism helps a lot in the real interpretation of any one of these, thus proving its fitness for being adopted as a world–religion. Or the three tiers in the figure like the storeys of a building, suggest the three principal tenets of Jainism. In the figure having ten heaps, we can say that the highest indicates the place of a Tīrthankar while he is preaching, the next one stands for the place of gods who have come to hear the sermon, and the two lower ones for Jaina monks and the laity[39] etc.

Taken collectively, they[40] may mean to be standing for mount Meru, which was considered to be the central point of the whole earth. The heaps indicate the Chulikās[41] or the peaks of Meru. Meru being considered as eternal and beyond the influence of time, these signs may have been stamped by kings aspiring after such permanence either for themselves and their dynasty or for these coins.

(4) [sign] [sign] [sign] These signs stand for the Ratna–traya (three jewels), which are known as Gñān (knowledge), Darśan

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(38) Cf. f. n. no. 74 in the first chap. and the matter connected with it.

(39) Modern scholars have taken this sign to suggest the Jaina laity; that interpretation is also adequate. This sign is also called "Chaitya". I do not know why.

(40) They have respectively two, three and four tiers and they can be interpreted variously according to Jaina philosophy.

(41) Chulikā means a devision · there are such three devisions, and hence one Chulikā suggests one–third of the total height or stretching area of the mountain.

(real insight) and chāritra (character), which mean the sum total of human life.

(5) 卐 卍 This is Swastika. Four horizontal and four perpendicular lines touch one another in this figure. It means Su-asti-ka[42] (that which does good to us). It has not been much in use in the Vedic religion. The sign belongs to Jainism; and was borrowed from it by the followers of other two religions, as a result of close contact with the former. This exchange of signs and tenets has been mutual in many cases. The old numbers of the Indian Antiquary contain exhaustive discussion as to the various meanings of this sign. Unfortunately, no space has been devoted to the possibilities of its interpretation according to Jainism. (Jains themselves are never either enthusiastic or particular about such things). According to Jainism the four perpendicular lines stand for the four channels of existence for a being:—God, Mankind, Tiryañch and Nārki, while the four horizontal lines mean the obstructions which do not allow any being to be free from them. The figure therefore means that a being has to revolve ceaselessly in the cycle of these for existence. The whole universe goes on like that.

These are also imperfect swastiks. It also stands for the lake containing lotuses. Hence such signs may indicate the origin of the coins to be Kaśmir or the Punjāb, where such lakes were in a large number.

(6) Scholars call these signs as "Tree without railing" and "Tree with railing"[43]. According to Jainism, however, it stands for the religious banner. The perpendicular line in the middle stands for the staff and the fans on both the sides suggest the waving-cloth of the banner. The square below stands for the wooden stand kept for the purpose of keeping the banner erect and steady. At present, in the religious processions of the Jains, this banner is kept on wooden horse-back or on the back of the

(42) C. A. R. Preface, pp. 145, paragraph 147.

(43) This sign on the coins of Mūlānand and Chutakānand, found out in Kārvār district, is interpreted as a spear. (Coins no. 47 to 50).

elephant or is put on a carriage drawn by coolies. This figure originally meant to be one of the eight Prātihāryās,[44] which were arranged by gods at the time when a Tīrthaṅkar attained the Kaivalya stage. It may also stand for the Boddhi-tree, which was also one of the eight Prātihāryas.

(7) The religious Wheel. This is also one of the eight Prātihāryās. It means that, just as the sceptre of a sovereign (chakravarti) king[45] precedes him wherever he goes, so does this religious Chakra precede a Tīrthaṅkar wherever he goes.

(8) This is called the "Moon" by the scholars. According to Jainism it means the place of salvation (commonly known as Siddha Śilā), which is as peaceful and as purely bright as the light of the moon.

When this sign is embossed in combination with this sign, they together mean the sun and the moon. They may be interpreted as standing for the desire of the king responsible for it, to be as permanent as the sun and the moon. These signs are seen on the coins of the Chasṭhaṇa dynasty.[46]

(9) The first is called the Taurine symbol and the second is called Nandipad (The foot print of a bull) by scholars They do not seem to have any special meaning. They may perhaps be another representation of the Ratnatraya.

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(44) Pratihārı=the personal attendant of a king. His duty is to fan the king or to walk in front of the king bearing the sceptre in his hand. These eight Pratihāryās are—(1) Aśoka tree, (2) Showér of flowers, (3) Celestial voice, (4) Fan, (5) Lion-throne, (6) Bhāmandal, (7) Heavenly band or Dundubhi, and (8) Umbrella or canopy.

(45) The modern substitute is the sceptre. This Chakra being the sign of Takṣilā country, that country is also known by that name. Takṣilā being a place of pilgrimage is known as Chakratīrth (part III).

For the meaning of Pravṛttachakra, vide Vol. I. pp. 167 and Vol. III for the details on Hāthīgumfā inscription.

(46) Coins Plate no. 2, no. 42. For explanation see further.

I have already shown that some of the signs are religious. There are, however, signs found on the coins, which seem to have no religious significance. They must have some other significance. Mr. Rapson says[47] "Very little is known as to the meaning of the symbols which often occur as adjuncts to the main type of Indian coins. Many of them were probably religious in origin and may have been used as sectarian marks." I have only to add that these signs furnish a lot of religious as well as non-religious information[48] as I have shown below.

**Purpose of these signs**

Again Mr. Rapson says:–[49] "The origin and significance of Indian coin-types are often obscure but it seems possible to determine sometimes whether their use was local, dynastic or personal–that is to say whether they were intended to denote some particular locality, some particular family of rulers or some particular ruler." Mr. Rapson, being a western scholar, cannot naturally have the same psychology as an oriental one. There being also paucity of implements with which to imprint signs, the latter may be either imperfect or not very distinct. On this account, however, we cannot call these signs "often obscure," because their obscurity is not due to themselves, but due to our ignorance of the motives behind them. These signs are really eloquent with information of the locality, family and personal details of kings and countries.

I shall first of all dwell upon the informations about places conveyed by these coins.

(1) Takṣilā was the capital of Kamboj-rāstra. This included within it Gāndhār which consisted of the Punjab and Afghanistan. Numerous coins of this country bear the Dharma Chakra (religious wheel.) (C. A. I. plate 3. no. 13). The sign was not always stamped by the kings of the country only. Bhūmak was never the king of this country, and yet his coins bear this sign (Plate II; no. 35–36) in order to indicate either his birth-place or his religion.

(47) C. A. R. pp. 174, para. 147.

(48) Details are given further on.

(49) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 160–65.

(2) This sign is called "Ujjain symbol" or "Cross and balls" by the scholars. Several distinct dynasties ruled this country, and yet the sign is seen uniformly in their respective coins. This means that the sign was used to denote the place only.

(3) The coins of Vatsa invariably bear the sign of a calf[50] (Vatsa=calf), no matter which dynasty ruled it; clearly the sign indicates the country and nothing else. (C. A. I. plate 5, and plate 2-3 in this volume.)

(4) The coins of Āyudhya contain the signs of a warrior (C. A. I. plate VI.)

(5) Kośala abounded in palm-trees, and hence its coins bear the palm-tree (Plate I. no. 14). Sometimes its coins bear the sign of a bull, which was the distinguishing mark of Ṛsabhadev, the first Jaina Tīrthankar who was born there. (C. A. I. plate IX nos. 7, 12, 14; and nos. 14 to 18 in this vol.)

(6) Pāñchāl being the birth-place of Draupadī, its coins have a warrior with several heads, to indicate the five husbands of Draupadī (C. A. I. plate VII).

(7) Kulind (about Hastināpur) being the birth-place of Śāntināth, the sixteenth Jaina Tīrthankar, its coins have the deer which was the mark of Śantināth. (C. A. I. plate V; nos. 1, 2, 3.)

Now I turn to dynastic details revealed by coins:—

(1) Śiśunāga dynasty is divided into the great Śiśunāga and small Śiśunāga; the coins of the former have two large serpents[51], and those of the latter two small ones. (C. A. I. plate VIII nos. 207-208. nos. 44 to 46; and no. 45. in this vol.)

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(50) Scholars have taken the bull to be indicating Śaiva sect of Hinduism. It is not so. The bull is the sign of the first Jaina Tīrthankara, Ṛṣbhadev. One reason for this is that the Śaiva sect came into existence, several centuries after the time with which we are concerned, in the 9th century A.D. when Śankarāchārya, its founder was born. If this Śaiva sect be included in Hinduism, why should not the Visnu sect be included in it too? It originated in the 15th century A. D.

(51) This is one of the reasons. Other reason might be to show that they were the followers of Pārśvanāth.

(2) Mauryan kings have selected the horse in order to indicate their bravery, and the head of the horse is adorned with the crest of a peacock, which denotes their dynasty. (C. A. I. plate V; nos. 105-106; plate VI, no. 148 G. p. 6.)

(3) The Āndhras, having their origin from Śudra class[52] have selected the bow-and-arrow as their dynastic sign.

(4) The Pārthians have given preference to the sign of the sun, as they were its worshippers.

(5) The rulers of Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty[53] have selected this sign, which denotes the place of salvation[54] according to Jainism, and the Star and Crescent or the Sun and Moon,[55] because their native place was the northern region about the Hymālayas, which was the original place of Mt. Meru (in Asian Turkey). C. A. R. plate IX-X and the subsequent coins; plate II, no. 42 in this vol.)

(6) Gardabhila kings have adopted the ass, because king Darpaṇ, the founder of the dynasty, knew the art of Gardabhī.

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(52) Mahānanda's mother was a Śudra woman; similarly the mother of Śrīmukh of Āndhra was also a Śudra.

(53) I have to refer to Chaṣṭaṇa dynasty here, though it cannot be taken within our time limit, due to special reasons:—These kings to whom these coins are attributed are generally considered to have belonged to the Kuśāna dynasty; but the coins show that they lived nearly four centuries before the beginning of the Kuśāna dynasty. If my calculation proves true, as I hope it will, these kings will come under our time-limit.

(54) See coins of Chaṣṭaṇ. (C. A. R. Plate IX-X). These signs may also indicate the desire of these kings to be as permanent as the sun and the moon.

The sign of Islām is also this. Does this mean that Islām had any connection with Jainism? Jaina kings ruled Arabia in the 1st century B. C., and the majority of their subjects were Jains. Islām was established in 611 A. D. Hence some other religion must have prevailed there before that time. (Vol. III and f. n. there).

(55) I will later on prove that these kings were a sub-sect of the Kuśānās. Mr. Rapson says:—(C. A. R. Intro. pp. 113, para 92). "Star and crescent the symbols of the sun and the moon occur on Pārthian coins and hence Pārthian origin is extremely probable in Chaṣṭaṇa family.

(C. A. R. plate VIII nos. 209 E, 210 E; plate II nos. 38–39 in this vol.)

(7) If the sign of Ujjain was on the reverse side of the coin, it meant that the king who got it struck, was subordinate to Avanti. If the sign was on the obverse, and if the coin bore no sign of Avanti, it meant that the kings were independent. If the coins of any other country bore the sign of Ujjain on the obverse, it meant clearly that these kings were under the suzereinty of Ujjain. This shows that the obverse is more important than the reverse. Mr. Rapson says :—(C. A. R. Intro. clxvi para 139). " Horse type to the Elephant seems to have depended on the will of the sovereign or of the mint authorities." This is not true. The change from horse to elephant means that the kings came under the sway of Priyadarśin from that of a Mauryan king like Chandragupta or Bindusār (coins nos. 67–71.)

" Śrī " means a king having less power than " Rājā." Mahārathi coins have only " Śrī " (coin no. 37), while Āndhras have " Rājā." If both these signs are stamped to-gether, they mean a king greater than a " Rājā."

Now I turn to personal details as revealed by coins :—

(1) Udāyan of Śiśunāga dynasty, being a warrior, seems to have selected the Horse as his sign. (nos. 68 and 71),

(2) Nandivardhan, also being a warrior by nature, has got himself represent on his coins in the uniform of a warrior. (C. A. I. plate V. no. 8. and no. 27 in this vol.)

(3) Nand IX became the king of Magadh, as the female elephant selected him out of all citizens. This occasion is illustrated in his coins. (C. A. I. plate V no. 9 and no. 29. in this vol.)[56]

(4) The mother of Priyadarśin has dreamt a white elephant enterning her mouth, when she was pregnant.[57]. Hence the coins of Priyadarśin have the elephant, which is also found in his rock-inscriptions.[58] (C. A. I. and C. A. R.)

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(56) Coins nos. 15 and 17 are of Vatsa no doubt; but the sign of bull has been dropped because they were under the power of Nanda kings of Magadh. Hence special occasions of these kings have found place on them.

(57) Vide the account of Priyadarśin for details.

(58) At the end of the large rock-inscriptions he has placed this sign in place of his initials.

(5) Coins bearing the sign of a sword or a shield, go to the credit of Chaṇḍ–pradyot. ( C. A. I. plate no. X nos. 1–5. and no. 28. in this vol ).

Coins of Ujjain bear the sign of the observatory,[59] because it was the place of the prime–meridian according to ancient Indian astronomers. Even at present the observatory bears the weather-cock at its top.

Many books have been written on the subject of the coins. I have quoted from two or three only which I consider as the most important, and the easiest of access. The names of these three most important books are :—

(1) Coins of Ancient India (C. A. I.) by Sir A. Cunningham.

(2) Coins of Andhra Dynasty. (C. A. R) by J. Rapson.

(3) Coins of Ancient India (C. J. B.) J. Brown.

**More about these signs**

The evidence deduced from the study of the coins is as trustworthy as that deduced from inscriptions. In the case of inscriptions, much depends on how various scholars interpret the script and the language found upon them; and it is not seldom that the language is found impossible of interpretation, or that there are as many interpretations of a single inscription as there are experts upon it. The study of the coins, though equally difficult, is decidedly more paying. Over and above the interpretation of various letters found upon them, the student has to attend to the various signs enumerated above and also to the progress of sculpture as indicated by them. But who will deny the fact that every single coin contains a mine of information about those centuries of the hoary past? I wish scholars had, and would, pay at least as much attention to coins as they do to inscriptions, and more things will be revealed by them than are dreamt of by us.

Before the oriental kings came into contact with foreigners, coins never contained any letters upon them. That was in 180 B. C.,

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(59) C. A. I. pp. 94 —"Much of its importance (cross and balls) was derived from its selection by the Hindu astronomers as their first meridian or starting point for measures of longitude.

when the Bactrian king Demetrius and his successor Menander came to India. In the previous volume and in the first chapter of this volume, I have spared no pains to prove that Jainism dominated in all the sixteen main kingdoms, right from very ancient times to 180 B. C., except 41 years of the reign of Aśoka and nearly 125 years of the rule of Śuṅgas. As yet, no coins either of Aśoka or of the Śuṅgas have been found out Hence by process of elemination, we can assert that all the coins are connected with Jainism. That the scholars have taken most of these coins to be connected with Buddhism, is neither due to their want of judgement nor want of deep study. The blame solely goes to the Jains themselves, who closed their literature within the four walls of air-tight cells and stores, at the time when the followers of the other two religions put every available piece of literature or legend to the scrutinity of the scholars, who, thus, built their conclusions after studying them with due care, caution and attention. As time passed on, however, and as Jains realised the gravity of their mistakes, Jaina literature began to be studied by scholars, and many of them had to change time-honoured conclusions due to this. One of them says:—(J. N. I. pp. 247) "The principal sculptures of both the Buddhas and Jains are so nearly identical[60] that it is not always easy for the casual observer to distinguish what belongs to the one and what to the other, and it requires some experience to do this readily." The same writer continues on p. 248:—" The first thing that strikes are the caves of Orissa[61]; though anomalous,[62] most of them are Jainas...goes without saying on examination, however, no remains are found which could be

(60) Truly speaking they are not identical, but all of them belong to Jainism, and have been mistakenly attributed to Buddhism by scholars. Cf. f. n. no. 71 below.

(61) The caves in questions are small ones like those of Rāṇīgumfā, Gaṇeśgumfā etc. The biggest is that of Hāthīgumfā in Khandagiri and Udayagiri. Details about it will be given in Vol. IV.

(62) Even though the caves are anomalous, yet the writer to whom we have referred has found reasons and evidence to come to a definite conclusion, which, therefore, should be respected all the more.

clearly attributable to Buddhism[63]. No Dagobā,[64] no Buddha[65] or Boddhisattva, no scene distinctively traceable to Buddhist legends[66] ...Triśūlas[67] open or pointed, Stūpas[68], Swastikas[69], barred railings[70], railed trees[71], wheels, the goddess Śrī are found; but they are common to Jainism as to other religions. Further more, this is a fact generally accepted by competent scholars, antiquarians and archeologists like O' Malley, Monmohan Chakravarty, Bloch, Fergusson, Smith, Coomāraswāmy and others[72]". Thus the signs Triśūla and others clearly belong to Jainism. Let us quote Mr. Chakravarty in support of this:—"After having examined the caves carefully during my visit I have come to the conclusion,

(63) This quotation gives us reason to believe that according to these writers these signs belong to Buddhism, and that the places which do not have any of them, are non-Buddhist.

(64) Dagobā means the Buddhist temple. Such temples are found in Burmā, Sumātrā, Jāvā, Ceylon, Japan and other countries. The designs of these temples should be the models with which we can decide whether a particular temple is Buddhist or non-Buddhist.

(65) This clearly leads us to the conclusion that the Buddhists worship the idol of Buddha and not his foot-prints only. The Jains always--nay mostly--worship the foot-prints of their Tīrthaṅkaras (Vol. I. pp. 281).

(66) There are many legends, the chief of which, numbering 500 to 550, are known as Jātaka tales. (Vide Bhilsā Topes). Only 12 to 15 out of these tally or agree with the scenes inscribed in the Bhārhut Stūpa, and that too after much twisting of meanings, as is confessed by a revered preceptor of that religion. The readers may judge for themselves whether this Bhārhut Stūpa can be called Buddhist in origin.

(67) Triśūla is not one of the signs of Jainism. It belongs to the Śaiva sect, which came into existence in the 9th century A. D. According to these writers it belonged to Buddhism. It requires further investigation.

(68) For details about such Stūpas vide Vol. I. pp. 294 f. n. no. 78, and cf. Dr. Buhler's words below in f. n. no. 77.

(69) Generally this sign is taken to have belonged to the Vedic religion. Further investigation, however, proves it to be connected with Jainism.

(70) Cf. f. n. no. 71 below.

(71) Vide J. N. I. pp. 207, f. n. no. 2; and cf. f. n. nos. 60 and 67 above.

(72) Cf. f. n. no. 69 above.

so far as the present data are available, they should be ascribed to the Jains and not to the Buddhists[73]." Mr. Bloch[74] says:—"The caves contain nothing Buddhistic, but apparently all belong to the Jains[75]." Mr. Furgusson says[76]:—"Till comparatively recently they were mistaken for Buddhist, but this they clearly never were."

Some one may argue here that the above-given quotations pertain to the caves of Orissa only and prove them to be belonging to Jainism. It is true. Yet I may draw attention to the fact that these scholars, while proving these caves to be connected with Jainism, having clearly mentioned the names of almost all signs and have proved them to be of Jaina origin. My point is, therefore, that wherever we come across these signs, we have to take them to be connected with Jainism.

Dr. Bühler says[77]:—"It would be surprising if the worship of stūpas, of sacred trees, of the wheel of the law, and so forth, more or less distinct traces of which are found with all sects, as well as their representations in sculptures, were due to one sect alone, instead of being heirlooms handed down from remote times before the beginning of the historical period of India." This one sect is Jainism.

Over and above these quotations, I request the readers to cast a glance at the list of questions and points raised in the appendix to the first chapter.



A certain writer says about this sign[78]:—"Amongst the Jains also Chakra symbolised the spread of religion[79]. This is confirmed by the representation of the wheel found at the Jaina Stūpa of Mathurā." (Cf. Hāthīgumfā Inscription L. 14 to

(73) Though it is stated here, that these signs were common to all religions, yet if we read those books themselves and interpret them in the right spirit, they all unanimously declare that the signs belong to Jainism only.

(74) Vide J. N. I. pp. 248, f. n. no. 3.

(75) He has visited the place and then built his conclusions.

(76) J. N. I. pp. 248, f. n. no. 4.

(77) J. N. I. pp. 248, f. n. no. 5.

(78) J. N. I. pp. 180. f. n. no. 4.

(79) Cf. f. n. no. 44 above and vol. I. pp. 167 f. n. no. 56.

17. Vol. III. King Khārvel's life). Thus this sign is clearly Jaina. It was inscribed on the coins of Gāndhār as stated previously. This shows that the kings of Gāndhār were all Jains. (See the coins of Taksilā and of Mathurā.

**The special features of certain signs**



This sign means the Chaitya. Dr. Hornle has given the following details about it[80]:—'Such establishment consits of a park or garden enclosing a temple and rows of cells for the accommodation of monks, sometimes also a Stūpa or a sculptural monument. The whole complex is not unusually called a Chaitya". Now the readers can understand why this sign is known as either tree with railing or without railing. Dr. Hornle says further on[81]:—"The Chaitya of Nāya clan was called Duipalās and it was kept up for the accommodation of the monks of Pārśvanāth[82]-order, to whom the Nāya clan professed allegiance. In Kollaga, the Nāya clan kept up a religious establishment doubtless similar to those, still existing in the present day. There is one near Calcutta in the Mānaiktalā[83] suburb." The Sanskṛt word for Nāya is Gnāt. Mahāvīr was born of this clan[84]. Thus this sign clearly belongs to Jainism.

The excavations of the famous Mohan-jā-Ḍero have brought to light certain seals which are bound to prove of much interest and significance to the stūdents of ancient history. Dr. S. Krsṇa Swāmī Āyaṅgar says[85]:—"Of all the things that have been unearthed from the excavations of Mohan-jā-Ḍero, the most important is the seal, which bears the figure of a peculiarly shaped animal, which some

**The seal of Mohan-jā-Dero**

(80) "Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" 1898, pp. 40; J. N. I. pp. 106.

(81) Ibid.

(82) Cf. f. n. no. 37, 38 above.

(83) So this place has such antiquarian interest !

(84) Chap. I. Cf. f. n. no. 54.

(85) Jan. No. of "Gaṅgā", 1933, a monthly published in Northern India. Pp. 51 and onwards.

interpret as deer, some as a bull." Another writer[86] says:—"Udayan (was) the bull of kings of Sauvīra." (Vol. I. pp. 210 seq.). The sign on the seal may[87], (excavated from his kingdom), then be suggestive of the *name of any one of the* Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras[88], as Udayan was a Jain[89]. I believe that just as the calf was the sign of Vatsa, the Chakra of Takṣilā,[90] so this *Rhinoceros* was the sign of Sindh-Sauvīr.

Referring to the possible time of these excavations, Dr. Āyaṅgar says:—" (Seven layers have been revealed in the excavations and calculating each to be 250 years old). The time of Mohan-jā-Ḍero can probably be at least somewhere between 2750 to 3250 B. C." I have come to the same conclusion in Vol. I. The city was destroyed in 534 B. C. and it may have existed for nearly two thousand years before that. The scholars have fixed up this time after studying the implements and other things unearthed from such ancient places. There may be an error of five centuries in such calculations and thus 2534 B. C., as I have fixed up according to my calculations may be right[91], though I have not yet come to a definite conclusion about it.

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(86) J. N. I. pp. 92.

(87) At the place where the excavations of Mohan-jā-ḍero are done, stood the capital of Udayan. (Vol. I. pp. 217).

(88) Chap. III, where signs of different Tīrthankaras are given. F. n. no. 2.

(89) Vol. I. pp. 214.

(90) Pp. 50 and 51 in this chap.

(91) I draw the reader's attention to the discussion originated by Mr. P. G. Mehta on pp. 1137 of the "Gujarātī" Weekly (4-8-1935) published from Bombay.



# Chapter III

## Coins ( contd. ).

**Synopsis:**—*Nearly 100 coins are illustrated in six plates—These coins are merely selected from a large number in order to serve as illustrations—Numerous coins are found everywhere—Details about the pictures are given in an arranged order—Detailed information about every of them, quotations and opinions of writers about their time and meaning as compared with my opinions, with reasons—Details about letters and signs found on the obverse and the reverse side of the coins—Conclusions about them—Their time—Other minute details.*

# Detailed information about coins

| No. | Opinions of other writers | The place from which they are found etc. etc. |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Two coins are found stuck to each other. They have the elephant and the Chaitya. Found in northern India. | A specimen only is given here. See C. A. I. nos. 24–25. |
| 2 | Some have the bull and some have the lion and the sceptre. | Sometimes found in the Punjāb. C. A. I. no. 26–27. |
| 3 | Pandit Jayaswāl interpreted the word 'Samprati' on this coin and fixed the coin to be belonging to the Jaina emperor of that name[1] (Modern Review, 1933, Oct.). | C. A. I. no. 20.; In J. B. O. R. S. no. 3 of 1935, this coin is proved to be that of emperor Samprati. |
| 4–5 | On one side there is the lion, while on the other there is the elephant. (C. A. I. pp. 62). These coins are not only found in the Punjāb but also in Kābul in large numbers. Coin no. 5 was found from the Stūpa of Uśkar, near Barāh Mūl in Kāśmir. | Lion is the sign of Mahāvīr[2], and the elephant is the sign of Samprati or Priyadarśin[3]; this coin proves that Priyadarśin was a Jain and that his kingdom extended upto Mathurā, the Punjāb, Kāśmir and Kābul in northern India. |

(1) Samprati was a staunch Jain. In history he is famous as Priyadarśin. Vide his account.

(2) There were 24 Tīrthankaras in Jainism. Each had his own distinguishing sign, which is popularly known as "Lañchhan" in Jainism They are as follows:—1. Bull. 2. Elephant. 3. Horse. 4. Monkey. 5. Krauñcha bird. 6. Day-Lotus. 7. Swastik. 8 Moon. 9. Alligator. 10. Vatsa. 11. Rhinoceros;

| No. | Opinions of other writers | Where found | Books describing them |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6-11 | There is nothing particular in the pictures on these coins. They seem to be cast coins, and show what religion the kings responsible for them, followed. No. 7 and 8 contain the words:-*Aprtihata chakras Rajubuls*, while nos. 6 and 11 have *Mahākhratapas Saudāsas*, and nos. 9 and 10 have *Hagān Hagāms*. So these coins were struck by Kṣatrapas like Rājubul, Saudās, Hagām[4], and Hagāmas. | Mathurā | C. A. I. Plate VIII nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 & 7.<br>—<br>C. H. I. Plate VII, nos. *24*; pp. 589 for coin no. 9. |

some believe it to be sword also. 12. Male buffalo. 13. Boar. 14. Hawk. 15. Vajra (thunder-bolt). 16. Deer. 17. Male goat. 18. Nandāvarta. 19. Kalaś (water-pot). 20. Tortoise. 21. Lotus. 22. Conch-shell. 23. Serpent. (24) Lion. For details, vide the account of Priyadarśin.

(3) Priyadarśin was also known as Samprati. His sign is the elephant. Vide his account.

(4) Their names are also spelt as Hagān and Hagāmās.

| Reasons to prove to whom the coin must have belonged | Their time as calculated by me |
|---|---|
| As stated in chapter II[5], we can calculate the date of coins by looking at the type of the coins. Cast coins were generally all struck during the 5th and the 4th century B. C. It is possible that mints were established after 303 B. C. during the rule of Priyadarśin[6]. But the Ksatrapas mentioned on these coins all lived during the 2nd century to 1st century B. C.[7]. It follows from this that advanced countries like Avanti[8] must have got the mints in the 3rd century B. C. while backward countries like Mathurā, from which these coins are found, must have continued crude methods of coining for a long time after 300 B. C.<br><br>As regards the religion indicated by them, I have to state that the Swastik[9] found upon them is a sign of Jainism[10]. The queen of Rājubul celebrated the Pratisthā[11] of the Lion capital pillar in Mathurā. Mahāksatrap Bhūmak was invited to attend the ceremony, but as he could not attend it personally, he deputed Ksatrap Nahapāṇ as his representative, who, though only a Ksatrap, was asked to occupy the presidental chair. This proves that all these Kṣatrapas must have been the followers of the same religion[12] and that Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ must have been very intimate or closely | 125 to 75 B. C. |

(5) For the calculation of time, vide pp. 42–43, chap. II.

(6) Vide the account of Priyadarśin.

(7) Vide their account in vol. III.

(8) See f. n. no. 4 above.

(9) F. n. no. 69, chap. II and the matter connected with it.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 12-13 | Many are found in the plates of C. A. I. Only two of them have been taken here as specimens. Some of them have Swastika, Trī-ratna, Chakra etc. (nos. 2, 3, 19); while some others have Bull, Chakra, Elephant, Goddess Laksmī, etc. (nos. 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17). | Province of Ayodhyā | C. A. I. Plate IX, nos. 2. 3. |

(10) See f. n. no. 9 above. Details are given at the end of this chapter in an appendix.

(11) For details vide Epigraphica Indica Vol. VIII, pp. 39 onwards.

(12) This being a religious occasion, those who are invited to attend, must naturally be of the same religion.

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|---|---|
| related[13]. That Kṣatrap Nahapāṇ was asked to preside as a representative of Bhūmak, shows that the latter must have held position of highest esteem among all the Kṣatrapas[14]. Scholars have unanimously accepted this Lion Capital Pillar to be belonging to Jainism[15]. This pillar contains the Swastik, which evidently must belong to Jainism. Again all these Kṣatrapas, though foreigners[16] were thus Jains[17] and may have belonged to the same clan. | |
| These coins have been introduced here as negative proofs against general beliefs. Scholars have mistakenly taken these signs to have belonged to Buddhism[19]; but their belief is ill-founded. Even Sir Cunningham has said on pp. 91 of his book:— "The coins do not themselves present any traces of Buddhism except the Bodhi-tree and the combined symbols of Tri-ratna and Dharma-chakra". Now really speaking even these signs belong to Jainism[20]. That Sir Cunningham had reasons to doubt their connection with Buddhism, inspite of his belief that these signs denoted Buddhism, is ample proof that neither the signs nor the coins have any connection with Buddhism. Thus Bull[21] is the sign of Rsabha-dev[22], the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkar. His kingdom was Ayodhyā, the capital of which was Vaiśākhā or Vinitā[23]. All coins of Ayodhyā, bear the sign of the Bull. Again all these kings (like Prasenjit[24] | 6th century B. C.[18] |

(13) How closely they were related is stated in their account in vol. III.

(14) Though Nahapān was only a Kṣatrap, he was given this high honour because he was the representative of Bhūmak, a Mahākṣatrap.

(15) E. I. vol. VIII.

(16) The very words "Kṣatrap and Mahākṣatrap" prove that these kings were foreigners. Vide their account for details about their native land.

(17) "Caste" here, is not used in the present sense of the term. It here means one of the four classes. There were no castes in Ancient India.

(18) See f. n. no. 17 above.

(19) Buddhist books do not tell us whether there were any signs in Buddhism. Hence it is doubtful whether it had any signs at all. (See f. n. no. 49, chap. II).

(20) Chap. II. pp. 56.

(21) Scholars have fixed up this sign to be connected with the Śaiva sect, because the Bull is considered to be the vehicle of Śiva. The readers will now see that the sign belongs to Jainism.

(22) See f. n. no. 2 above.

(23) Vide K. S. S. Com. pp. 117. I draw the reader's attention to the names of various cities of Ancient India in order to avoid confusion. Sometimes their names are very similar (cf. vol. I, pp. 177 & 180).

(A) The capital of Ayodhyā had three names:—Viśākhā. Ayodhyā and sometimes Śvetāṃbi.

(B) Vaiśāli is the name of the capital of Videha, over which Chetak ruled, and which was the birth-place of Mahāvīr. Thus the reader will understand that Viśākhā and Viśālā (Vaiśālī) are names of different cities. (The city, the area of which, was very large, was called Viśālā. Thus sometimes Ujjaiṇi was also called Viśālā. Vol. I. pp. 177 & 180).

(C) Kauśāṃbi was the capital of Vatsa. Its situation was near modern Allāhābād. (Thus Śwetāṃbi and Kauśāṃbi are different).

(D) Śrāvastī:—It was situated at the mouth of the Ganges at the foot of the Himālayas. This was the place where Gośāla, the son of Maukhali was born and was dead. He had harrassed Mahāvīr. Jyesṭhavan, mentioned in the Buddhist books, was situated in this city. Śrāvastī is sometimes called Chandrikāpurī or Chandrapurī also.

(24) For details about him, vide Vol. I., pp.. 79 & seq. He belonged to the Ikṣvāku family.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 14 | Obverse:–A Palm-tree with a peacock on its right.<br>Reverse:–*Aryatimis*; on the left, a pillar and bull opposite to it. | Ayodhyā | C. H. I. Plate V, No. 11 (copper coin) |
| 15 | Obverse:–The figure of a warrior and the words: [ – ] *Sata Mitas*.<br>Reverse:–Chaityas etc. | Kauśāṃbī | C. A. I. Plate V, No. 8. |

(25) Vol. I. pp. 77 & notes. The Buddhist king Pasādi was converted to Jainism by Keśī.

(26) Read details about coins nos. 13 and 14 above. The Bull is the sign

| | |
|---|---|
| of Kośal etc.) descended from the Ikṣvāku line, and followed Jainism[25] as the sign on their coins prove, (the Bull thus was the sign of Kośal also. Coin no. 14 below, where it has been stated to be the sign of Vatsa also. Thus the bull was the sign of both Vatsa and Kośal). | |
| For the Bull see details given above. I draw the reader's attention to the fact that though the coin contains the Bull, a sign of Vatsa, yet the author of C. H. I. has accepted it as belonging to Kośal, which proves that the Bull was the sign both of Vatsa and Kośal. ( c. f. f. n. no. 21 of coin no. 13 above.) | 5th century B. C. |
| In the book itself, the horse is stated to be seen on the obverse side. But looking minutely, this does not seem to be a fact. This may be due to the picture not being properly embossed or due to the smallness of its size, making it difficult to recognize it exactly. It is possible that the print may be of a Bull. | B. C. 417 to 415 |
| I believe that the print indicated a warrior. Thus the commonly accepted sign[26] of the Bull for Vatsa, is not here. After the rule of the Śatānika dynasty ended on Vatsa, it came under the sway of Nandivardhan (of Magadh) who is seen standing in the uniform of a warrior on these coins. This happened in M. E. 60 or 467 B. C.[27]. Nandivardhan then became the master of both Kauśāmbī and Ujjain. ( It has been found out now, that the letters are interpretted as "Bṛhatpat Mitas"[28].) | |

of Kauśāmbī as well as of Kośal.

(27) Vol. I. pp. 209 & 351.

(28) The letters on the coins support this interpretation.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 15 (A) | Obverse:-Goddess Lakṣmī on a lotus, elephants on one side sprinkling water at the coronation time.<br>Reverse:–Religious signs. | Kauśāmbī | C. A. I. Plate V. No. 9. |
| 16 | Nothing particular about these coins except that the names found on them, are mistakenly supposed to have been those of Śuṅga kings, which they are certainly not. | Kauśāmbī | C. A. I. Plate V. No. 10–18. |

(29) For details about this trick vide vol. I. pp. 329.

(30) This is not the figure of Goddess but of king Mahānand.

(31) See f. n. no. 27 above and the matter connected with it.

(32) Vol. I. pp. 116. onwards for the account of Udayan.

| | |
|---|---|
| The picture describes how Nand IX came to the throne[29]. It is not Goddess Lakṣmī sprinkled with water but the king himself[30]; both Kauśāmbī and Avantī were under the sway of Magadh long since[31]; hence these pictures on their coins. As the rule of Udayan of Vatsa had ended[32], his sign the Bull[33] is not seen here. As the kings of both Magadh and Vatsa were Jains[34], the reverse side uniformly bears religious signs[35]. | B. C. 414 to 372 |
| No. 10 has the name Sudev; nos. 11 and 12 have Bṛhaspatimita; no. 15 has Aśvaghoṣ; nos. 15 and 16 have Jethamitra and no. 18 has Dhandev. (Dev means king, just as Chandragupta is addressed as Dev in Mudrārākṣas). These kings are believed to have belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty[36]. I differ from this belief; because:—(1) The names of all these kings do not end in "Mitra" as do the names of Śuṅga kings. (Pusyamitra, Agnimitra etc); (2) The Śuṅgas were the followers of the Vedic religion. These coins, on the other hand, contain signs of Jainism, (Chaitya etc). It follows therefore, that these kings were not the followers of the Vedic religion as Śuṅgas were. (3) During the time of the Śungas the mints had already been established, and the coins were embossed; while these coins are all cast. (4) The Śunga coins always have the sign of Ujjain. These coins do not have that sign. I, therefore, | B. C. 427 to 417 |

(33) Coin no. 3, and f. n. no. 26 above.

(34) Vide Vol. I. and the account of their dynasties to know what religion these kings followed. Thus the conclusions arrived at in Vol. I. are supported by the evidence found on coins.

(36) All these kings belonged to the Nanda dynasty. (Vol. I. pp. 305).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | | Kauśāmbī | C. A. I. Plate V, No. 11 |
| 18 | Obverse:-Bull, opposite Chaitya on the right side.<br>Reverse :-'*Bahasımitrasa*', and tree with signs on both the sides. | | C. H. I. Plate V, No. 2. (pp. 538) (Copper coin). |
| 19-20 | Obverse:-Humped Bull and dots in a square.<br>Reverse:-Chaitya and 'Star and the Crescent, with dots in a square'. | Kauśāmbī | C. A. R. Plate 12. No. 326-27 (Square copper coins). |
| 21-22 | Obverse:-Elephant, with the moon above it. Dots in a circle.<br>Reverse:-Chaitya, and the Sun and the Moon, with a curved line below. | | C. A. R. I. Plate XII No. 402 to 420. (Potin coins). |

(37) Cf. f. n. no. 36 above.

(38) It appears more like a ram than a calf. (See f. n. no. 60 below).

| | |
|---|---|
| have come to the conclusion that these names stand for the Nanda kings from 2nd to the 8th; and that Bṛhaspatimitra was the eighth who was defeated by Khārvel[37]. | |
| Read details about No. 16 above. | Ibid. |
| Read details about No. 16 above. | B. C. 417 to 415. |
| These coins have been mistakenly taken to have belonged to Chaṣṭaṇa Ksatrapas, because they contain Star and Crescent, which are commonly found on Chaṣṭaṇa coins. These coins, however, bear neither the date nor name or portrait-head of the king as all Chaṣṭaṇa coins do. They have the Bull on them[38]. Thus these coins do not belong to Chaṣṭaṇa dynasty. For my conclusion see description of coins Nos. 23 24. | See coins No. 23-24 below. |
| These coins also do not bear either date, name or portrait-head. They have been taken to have belonged to Chaṣṭaṇa dynasty simply because they have the Sun and the Moon[39]. In Nos. 19 and 20, we find the Bull, while in these we find the Elephant. See coins Nos. 23 and 24 below. | " |

(39) The "Sun and the Moon" is merely a religious sign. It does not indicate any dynasty, as some scholars mistakenly believe. I have proved it. See details on coins Nos. 23–24. (Cf. f. n. no. 58 below).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 23-24 | Obverse:–Bull.<br>Reverse:–Chaitya and Sun and Moon; and some have dates. (No other special signs). | C. A. R. Plate 17 Nos. 889 to 903. (Lead coins and square in shape.) | |

| | Metal | Name | Date | Other details |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Plate X, Nos. 265–269. 5 | Copper | Jayadāman Chaṣṭan | nil | "*Swāmī Ragno kṣtrapas*",[40] these words are found. |
| Plate X, No. 264. 1 | " | Doubtful | nil | |
| Plate XI, Nos. 293–4 2 | Potin | Jivadāman | Doubtful 119 | Found near Puṣkara & Ajmer. |
| Plate XI, XII 324–5 2 | Potin | " | 114 or 119 | Found from Puṣkar & Ujjain. |
| Plate XII Nos. 326–7 2 | Copper and Square | nil | nil | Sign of Calf. |
| Plate No. XII, 374–6 3 | Potin | nil | 131 to 133 | Sign of Elephant |
| Plate No.XIII, 402–420 19 | Potin | nil | nil | The same sign of Elephant. |
| Plate No.XIII 461–471 11 | Potin | nil | nil | " |
| Plate No XVII 889–903 15 | Lead and Square | nil | the date is given. | Sign of Calf. |
| Total 60 | | | | |

Selecting only two coins Nos. 19–20, 19 in Nos. 21–22 and 15 in Nos. 23–24; only 36 in all are given here as specimens. In the book itself are given nearly sixty coins.

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(40) For details vide the account of Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty at the end of Volume III.

(41) For fuller details vide C. A. R. The common belief of the scholars is stated there, while I have here stated my conclusions after thoroughly discussing and analysing them.

These coins deserve notice in three ways:—(1) Their metal, (2) Names and years found on them; (3) Other details about signs found upon them. Let us consider them one by one:–(1) Metal:–All the coins of this dynasty, which have portrait-heads upon them, are of silver. These sixty coins are an exception. Out of them 38 are round in shape and are made of potin, while ther emaining twenty-two are square in shape and are some of lead and some of copper. Thus the latter differ from the silver ones both in shape and metal, while the former in metal only. (2) Name and year:—Only eight, out of sixty[41] have names; out of these eight, four are copper coins, and only four are made of potin. (There is a fifth coin of copper but the name on it, is illegible and is only taken for granted for that of a Chaṣṭaṇa king); that these have names may be taken as a strong evidence for considering them to be belonging to Kśatrap dynasty. (3) Other details.— 51 do not bear any name or any date upon them. Only three of them seem to have something like date, but that is fixed only by conjecture and hence cannot be called reliable. It is quite logical to argue that the language and the script used by Chaṣṭaṇa kings can have been and may have been used by others as well. Thus the script can be, at the most, used as a pointer to the date[42]; but we are concerned here with the dynasty of the kings[43];

(42) We will have to admit that the knowledge of language and script on coins helps us a lot in fixing up their time; but it is not completely reliable. (Several instances of such slips on account of depending too much on script and language are given in this volume).

(43) Cf. f. n. no 42 above, and then try to see whether the evidence goes in favour or against.

(44) The sign Vatsa chiefly belongs to Kauśāṃbī, and so his name is mentioned here. This sign also belongs to Ayodhyā. coins nos. 12–13.

(45) For varification vide C. A. R. where nearly 250 coins are given.

(46) Vol. III, about their native place.

(47) Vol. III for details,

(48) See f. n. no. 49 below.

(49) Demetrius was the foreign invader who made India his home. He has got his portrait-head embossed. But he was not the ruler of Avanti. Menander

and these coins go a long way to prove that the Chaṣṭana kings were not responsible for them. The signs found on them also prove the same thing. If these coins can be fixed up as belonging to Chaṣṭana dynasty, simply because they have signs like the Sun, the Moon and the Chaitya, we can argue that they also have the Vatsa and the Elephant upon them, and I see no reason why these coins cannot be connected with kings of Kauśāmbī[44] as well as with Priyadarśin. Secondly, even the signs of Sun and Moon are not similar on all the coins; alterations have been made in them in various ways; how can we, then, take these signs to be denoting dynasty? Moreover, all these Kṣatrapas have got their portrait-heads embossed on their coins[45]; why do these coins not have the portrait-head on any one of them? Why did they rest themselves content with the signs of the Sun and the Moon only? The Kṣatrapas were foreigners[46] and all foreigners[47] (especially the rulers of Avanti[48] have invariably got their portrait-heads on them[49]. Thus it follows that the portrait-head is the invariable concommitant[50] of the coins of Ksatrapa dynasty. Let us, for a moment take it for granted that these coins belong to the Kṣatrapa dynasty, and that they were

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and Bhūmak have flourished after him. Even they did not rule Avanti. Nahapān, who succeeded Bhūmak was the first to become the master of Avanti. This is why I have laid special stress over it here: and all the foreigners, who succeeded Nahapān, irrespective of their being masters of Avanti or not, got their portrait-heads struck on the coins. (See the coins of Chasṭhana dynasty for details). The first Indian king to get his portrait-head struck on the coins was Śātkarnī Gautamīputra. (Coin no. 76). After that time even some kings got their portrait-heads struck, while others did not.

(50) All foreigners, as stated above, got their portrait-heads struck upon the coins. See the coins of Kuśāna dynasty.

(51) For the greater importance of the obverse side see pp. 43 Chap. II.

(52) This date is given according to scholars, who have tried to fix up that the rule of this dynasty began in 78 A. D. This requires change, as I have stated at the end of Vol. III.

(53) This is an instance of the kind of slips mentioned in f. n. nos. 42-43 above. Though this refers to the sign only, yet the same can be applied

all sub-ordinates of either the king of Vatsa or of Priyadarśin (because they have either the Vatsa or the Elephant on the obverse side[51]). This assumption will necessitate a great change in the period of the whole Chasthana dynasty from the first century A. D.[52] to the third century B. C. as both Priyadarśin and the kings of Vatsa ruled during that century. In short, these coins cannot, in any way, be ascribed to the Chasthaṇa dynasty.[53]

Thus, taking into consideration their metal, names, dates and other signs and details, these coins cannot be proved as belonging to Chasthaṇa kings. Only the four which bear the name of Jayadāman, and the other four which bear the name of Jivadāman and Rudrasiṁh can be said to have been connected with them. Out of these, four are made of copper and so may be considered as exceptions. The other four of potin deserve some notice. This metal must have been found useless for the purpose of coins in the 1st century A. D.[54]. It is possible that some of the Kśatrapas might have taken into his mind to get coins struck in that metal, in order to advertise it, and to show that they were as valorous as the former kings[55] who had their coins struck in this metal They might have given up the idea after some time.

If we accept the conclusion stated above, there will be no necessity to divide Kṣatrapa coins into three parts as has been hitherto done[56]. They can

to the script and the language also, because there are possibilities of mis-interpretting letters as well as digits of numbers on them

(54) See f. n. no. 57 below.

(55) For example see the Sudarśan Inscription, details about which are given in an appendix at the end of this book.

(56) Vide C. A. R. and see coins nos. 33, 34 below.

(57) This statement offers scope for some correction. See f. n. no. 54 above and the matter connected with it.

(58) See f. n. no. 56 above.

(59) Cf. f. n. no. 53 above.

(60) See coins nos. 19-20.

all be put under one class as having portrait-heads and dates embossed upon them. (The few which do not have dates belong to Chasthan and Ghsamotik. For details vide Vol. III, about the Kuśāna dynasty.

We, then, come to the conclusion that all potin coins were struck during the centuries before Christ[57]; that the Sun and the Moon are used as religious signs only[58]; and then, these signs do not indicate any family[59].

Now a question arises about the dates Out of 60, 9 have names only, so they are out of consideration. Out of the remaining 51, 17 have Vatsa (326–7=2 of copper, and 889 to 903=15 of lead), and 34 have Elephants and are made of potin. In the case of Vatsa coins, Nos. 326–7, the animal on them appears more like a Lamb[60] than like a Bull, and have no date on them. The remaining 15 of lead have the Bull on them, and the date on them is 280 to 294[61]. In the case of Elephant coins, Nos. 374 to 76 have 131 to 139, Nos. 402 to 420 have 147 to 158[62]; and Nos. 460 to 471 have no date on them. Hence the dates vary from 131 to 158 in the aggregate.

The Christian era had not yet begun. Hence we have to find out to which era these figures belong. In the chapter on eras[63], I have proved that all the kings had adopted the Mahāvīra era, because they were all Jains (see the Sahasrām rock-inscription of Priyadarśin, which contains the year 256[64].)

(61) See further for explanation.

(62) In C. A. I. pp. 98, the dates given are 147 to 162.

(63) For this, see Vol. III, the chapter on Dating of events.

(64) Scholars are not agreed as to the interpretation of this number. I have stated my opinion about it and stated this conclusion based on it. For details vide the "Life of Priyadarśin" shortly to be published by me.

(65) Vide his account further on in this book for this date.

(66) See f. n. no. 62 above. Cf. f. n. nos. 42, 43, 53 and 62, and the matter connected with them.

(67) This is one more instance of the slips mentioned in f. n. nos. 42, 43, 53 and 62. See f. n. no. 68 below.

(68) Letters and digits written in ancient scripts are so very minutely different from one another that only if a small part is either not properly

Again, signs like Chaitya and others, as I have already shown, belong to Jainism. Thus it is possible that these numbers may refer to the Mahāvīra era. Priyadarśin ruled from M. E. 237 to 290[65]. Thus the Vatsa coins, which have dates varying from 280 to 294, (see p. 81) may well be attributed to him. The other coins bear the Elephant and so undoubtedly belong to Priyadarśin whose sign it was. Then we have to take for granted that the numbers 131 to 158 are wrong i. e.; the numbers on the coins are wrongly read and interpretted. They must really be 231 to 258. Such slips and errors[66] are not infrequently made by scholars while interpretting these difficult letters and scripts on coins. The digit in the tens-place in Nos. 374-75 must also be 4 instead of 3[67]. All the differences suggested by me are quite possible[68] because a slight turn in these digits, if missed or taken for granted, makes a difference of centuries. So, I come to the conclusion that all these coins belong to Priyadarśin, and that their date is 239 to 258 M. E. That is, they must have been struck during the first twenty-two[69] years of his rule.

If, in course of time, all the conclusions stated above, prove true, we can say that the Mahāvīra era was used not only in the rock-inscriptions[70] but in coins also. The Mahāvīra era was given

engraved or is worn away, the whole number might be quite different from the original number, cf. f. n. nos. 42, 43, 53 and 62.

(69) If the number be fixed up as 262, we shall have to take 26 instead of 22.

(70) Cf. f. n. no. 61. The Hāthigumfā inscription also substantiates this. It contains the number 103, which also represents the Mahāvīra era. For details see the account of Khārvel.

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| 25 | Bears the special sign of Avanti. This sign is called "Cross and Ball" by the experts. At present such figure is commonly found at the top of observatories and is called the weather-cock. Some details are given on previous pages. | | |
| 26 | Obverse:- Humped Calf on the left. Warrior on the right.<br>Reverse:-Chaitya, Chakra, Swastik etc. | Kauśāṃbī | C. A. I. Plate V, No. 7. Pp. 73. |

(71) Nandivardhan, Khārvel and Priyadarśin have used this era while describing political events.

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| historical recognition[71]. (In 257 M. E. Priyadarśin had taken eight vows; in 262 M. E. he got the inscriptions ready; so the question arises—were these coins struck in celebration of these events ? Vide his account.) | |
| No Calf is visible on this coin. It is supposed to be there because the coin was found from Kauśāmbī. Minute observation, however, reveals that it has the warrior only. The signs Chaitya, Swastik etc. indicate the king to be a Jain. The Chakra shows that either the coin was struck after Mahāvīr attained Kaivalya stage[72], or it was struck in celebration of the occasion[73] (B. C. 556).<br><br>No sign of Avanti is seen on the coin. But if the coin, as stated above, was struck in celebration of the occasion of Mahāvīr's attaining the Kaivalya stage, it must have been so during the rule of Chaṇḍpradyot on Avanti. Though Chaṇḍ was not | 556 to 467 B. C. 90 years. |

(72) The Dharmachakra is one of the eight Prātihāryas which are present at the time of the attainment of the Kaivalya Gūṇa. Cf. f. n. no. 44 above.

(73) Vol. I. pp. 366. See B. C. 556.

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| 27–30 | No special features as coins. They are given here in order to explain the warrior, the sign of Ujjaini and the image of God in a squating position, with the sign of the serpent below it. | | C. A. I. Plate X. No. 1 to 10. |

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| the master of Kauśāmbī at this time, yet it is possible that the coins must have been taken to Avanti by merchants who travelled from one country to another. The coin may also be ascribed to Maṇiprabh (487 to 467 B. C.) of Avanti, who was the sovereign of Kauśāmbī also. But the warrior fit in more with Chaṇḍpradyot than with Maṇiprabh. | |
| There is another possibility. Nandivardhan had annexed Kauśāmbī with Magadh in 467 B. C.[74]. The coin may thus belong to him, who was very fond of militarism, and must have got himself imprinted as a warrior on the coins. | |
| These are all cast-coins and thus belong to the 5th or the 6th century B. C. The warrior has a sword and a shield in his hand, and so I take him to be Chaṇḍpradyot. The image in a squating position with the serpent below it, signifies Pārśvanāth. The Chaitya, Swastik and the Ratna-traya contained by same, prove that the kings were Jains. | B. C. 600 & 500 |
| Another interpretation is possible:— | |
| The warrior with Sun-standard in hand may be Nandivardhan. The sign of Ujjaini signifies that Ujjaini was under the sway of Magadh. So its date must be 467 to 454 B. C. If, on the other hand, the image in the squating position may be taken as Goddess Lakṣmī and the serpent may be taken as the sign of the Śiśunāga dynasty, all these coins go to the credit of Nand IX. The sign of Ujjain signifies the same thing as it does in the former | |

(74) Vol. I. pp. 371.

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| 31–32 | Obverse:–standing Calf and Nandipadma over it. Reverse:–Sign of Ujjain and tree. | | C. A. R. Plate VIII. Nos. 221–227. Pp. 55. |
| 33–34 | They all belong to Ujjaini. (C. A. I. no. 21 contains the number 147, and no. 22 contains the number 162.) One side has the elephants showing that they belong to Priyadarśin, yet they are considered to belong to kings of Kṣatrapa dynasty. The same is stated in C. A. R. | | |
| 35–36 | Obverse:–pointed Bow and Arrow, Vajra; and the words "Chhahardas Chhatrapas Bhūmakas" (Kharoṣthi script). Reverse:–Lion at the top of the pillar, with a raised paw and the | Near Ajmer | C. A. R. Plate IX. Nos. 237–38. Pp. 63. |

(75) C. A. R.; see the description of the coins of Kṣatrapas.

(76) Vol. I. pp. 332–33.

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| contention. Then the time of the coins would be 414 to 372 B. C. | |
| Vatsa means the king of Kauśāmbī, and Nandipadma and the tree indicate Jainism The sign of Ujjain stands to show that the king ruled over Avanti. Thus the coin belongs to Maṇiprabh who succeeded Udayan, of Vatsa, and under whose sway both Kauśāmbī and Avanti were. | Before 460 B. C. or 460 to 490 B. C. |
| Coin-experts have come to the conclusion that there are three kinds of coins struck by Kṣatrapas[75]. One kind has the portrait-head and the year; the coin of the second kind are made of potin and have no portrait-head, but have the sign of the Vatsa and the year; those of the third kind neither contain any names nor any dates. All these coins are taken to have belonged to Kṣatrapas because on one side they have the sign of Sun and Moon, (which is considered the sign of this dynasty,) and that of the Chaitya on the other. This assertion is open to correction as I have already stated above. Readers are requested to refer to the arguments stated in the description of coins nos. 23 and 24. | |
| The name is clearly given. The Dharmachakra and the Vajra signify Jainism. Their place is Gāndhār and Kamboj Rāṣṭra. (The grammarian Pāṇini and others of his company, being natives of this place[76], used the Kharoṣṭhī script,[77], which also shows that the native place may be the Punjāb and Afghānistān) It also proves that the Kṣaharāt clan[78] came from these places The Lion capital | B. C. 154 to 114. |

(77) Vol. I. pp. 36 and pp. 332.

(78) Details will be given in the account of the Kṣaharātas to be given in vol. III.

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| | Dharmachakra opposite to it; some inscription in the Brāhmī language. | | |
| 37 | Obverse:–Portrait–head of the king; *Rōjā Kśaharatas Nahapāṇas.* Reverse:–Arrow, with the pointed side downwards and Vajra; the above-given inscription in Brāhmī. | Jogal–thambi collection, also Ajmer District. | C. A. R. Plate IX. 243. Pp. 65. |

(79) See details about coins Nos. 6 to 11 above.

(80) Vol. I. pp. 36.

proves that the king was a follower of Mahāvīr and that he belonged to the same clan to which Rājuvul and Bhūmak belonged[79]. This explains why Bhūmak was invited when the Pratisthā ceremony of the pillar was inaugurated by the queen of Rājuvul, showing that Bhūmak wielded more authority than he. The Brāhmī script indicates the admixture of Indians with foreigners, and established the contention that Kamboj was the original place of Brāhmī[80]. The absence of the portrait-head is a pointer to the fact that Bhūmak had not come much under the influence of foreign rulers like Demetrius and Menander[81]. The presence of his name on the obverse defines him as an independent king[82].

The portrait-head shows the influence of foreign rulers. Vajra and arrow and other things indicate the dynasty of Bhūmak and the Ksaharāta clan. Contact with India is pointed by the Brāhmī script. The absence of the word Kṣatrap testifies that he was an independent king. The word "Rājā"[83] establishes him as the master of Avanti, and that Avanti-Ujjain were considered places of importance in those times. The absence of religious signs, which had hitherto found their place duly on the coins, shows that religious influence was waning slowly and slowly, though his son-in-law Ṛṣabhadev was devoutly religious (Nahapāṇ, unlike Bhūmak, is always called a Rājā=Avantipati.

B. C. 75 to 115

(81) Pp. 44 above.

(82) Pp. 44 above.

(83) Pp. 44 above.

(84) Vide their account in vol. III.

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| 39 | Obverse:–Lion in a jumping posture; the Swastik above it; the border dotted.<br>Reverse:–Ujjain sign and the border dotted. | | C. A. R. Plate VIII; Nos. 209–10. P. 54. |
| 40 | | | C. A. I. Plate V; No. 11. |
| 41 | | | C. H. I. |
| 42 | Obverse:–Letters in Greek language; unintelligible; king's portrait-head on the right side.<br>Reverse:–C h a i t y a with Moon above it, with a | | C. A. R. Plate X. J. B. (Silver) |

(85) Vide vol. III for details.

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| The appearance of the animal resembles the horse more than it does the lion. It cannot be positively called a horse too, as its tail is peculiar. It represents the donkey neither, because a donkey has a short tail and cannot jump as is shown in the picture It is possible that the picture may have been printed in order to represent the bravery of the king who was responsible for the coin. If we take the animal as a donkey, it indicates the Gardabhīla dynasty[85]—its bravery and progress. The Swastika denotes Jainism and the Ujjain sign shows that the king was the lord of Avanti, and was independent. According to my opinion Vikramāditya Śakāri[86] or his father Darpaṇ must have been responsible for these coins. (c. f. C. A. R. Plate I. Nos. 9–11, details about which are given in Nos. 82 and 83). | B. C. 70 to A. D. 3= 73 years |
| See the illustration of No. 18. That picture is taken from C. H. I.; while this one is taken from C. A. I. They are the same. For details about them read the description of coins Nos. 16–17. | |
| It belongs to Ksaharāt Menander[87]. Nothing particular about it. | B. C. 155. |
| It belongs to Chasthaṇ, the son of Ghsamotic; as this is clearely stated on the coin, it required no further explanation. | A. D. 125. |

(86) Vide his account in vol. III

(87) Vide his account in vol. III.

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| | curved line on the left. Sun on the right. "*Ragńo Mahākṣatrapas Ghṣamoticputra* [*sa*] *Chasṭhaṇas* written[88] in Brāhmī. | | |
| 43 | Obverse:–Portrait–head of the king with face on the right and having a helmet on the head.<br>Reverse:–Cock on the right and the word 'Sophuton' (Caduceus) by its side. | | C. A. B. Plate II. No. 1. (Silver) P. 23. |
| 44 and 46 | Obverse:–A standing lion in one, and Nandipadma in the other.<br>Reverse:–Two large serpents. | Andhra | C. A. R. Plate VIII; G. P. I. and No. 207. P. 53. |
| 45 | Obverse:–Chaitya with six arches.<br>Reverse:–Two large serpents. | Andhra | C. A. R. Plate VIII; 208; P. 53. |

(88) Vide vol. IV for details.

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| This coin belongs to Sophitis (Saubhūti), who is also known as Aṃbhi[89]. | B. C. 327 to 320 |
| There is no name; neither is their any other sign. Hence the coin belongs to the time before the establishment of the sovereignty of Śrīmukh over Āndhra. The two serpents may incline us to take them as belonging to the Śiśunāga dynasty.[90] No Śiśunāga king upto Kuṇik had his sway over Āndhra. Hence the time of the coin can be after the reign of Kuṇik. It may thus have been struck during the time of either Udayāśva or Anuruddha-Muṅda. | B. C. 496 to 472 |
| Like Nos. 44 and 46, this coin also belongs to Udayan or to Anuruddha Muṅda. Coins Nos. 44, 45, 46 may have been struck by the same king. | B C. 496 to 472 |

(89) Vol. I. pp. 98.

(90) Pp. 57 above.

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| 47–48 | Obverse:–Standing Calf; and the words: '*Sadru-kan Kalāya Mahārat-h̄s.*' Reverse:–Tree, Chaitya with two arcs and one large more above; a curved line below and the Moon at the top. The explanation given here also refers to Nos. 49, 50, 51 & 52. | Chittal-dūrga Province (Mysore) | C. A. R. Plate VIII; 233–34; P. 57. |

(91) Cf. pp. 21 and f. n. nos. 94, 95 above.

(92) Vol. I. pp. 353 and f. n. no. 39.

(93) Vol. I. pp. 153, 157, 325, 355 etc.

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| All the signs indicate Jainism[91]. The calf proves that the king must have been a subordinate of Vatsa. The coins must have been of old times because they are cast. The name Mahārathis reminds us of the time of the father of queen Nāganikā[92]. These coins resemble in many ways the coins of the first two Āndhra kings. The curved line, on the other hand, points towards the Nanda dynasty. To make all these varied details agree with one another, we have to fix up the time of the coins to be the year when the rule of Nand II ended, with misrule and anarchy speedily following it[93], during which many small and subordinate kings asserted their independence and flouted the authority of Magadh. At this time Śrīmukh founded his own dynasty in Āndhra[94]; in the same way, these Mahārathis ( like the father of queen Nāganikā), may have been natives of Vatsa, which was under the sway of Magadh since the rule of Nand I. These Mahārathis, like Śrīmukh, may have founded their independent kingdoms in further south in Mysore, during the weak rule of the six succeeding Nandas. The second Āndhra king must have married (Queen Nāganikā), the daughter of Mahārathi at this time. We find Ujjain-sign on the coins of Āndhra kings, but we do not find it on the coins of Mahārathi or of Mūlānand. These show that the Āndhra kings were not independent. Ujjain symbol is the distinctive emblem of Satavāhanas—the Āndhras proper, as opposed to Andhrabhṛtyas[95]. (C. A. R. Intro. clxviii. para 140). | About B. C. 420 |

(94) Vol. I. pp. 325.

(95) For difference between Āndhra and Āndhrabhṛtya, vide vol. IV, and vol. I. pp. 151, and 356.

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| 49–50 | Obverse:-Chaitya, with four arches : they again having three more over them; one big arch over all these; the words on it are:— "*Ragño Dhuṭukalanandas Kalānandas*". Reverse:–Tree, Nandipadma and Swastik. | Kārvār district | C. A. R. Plate No. VIII. G. P. 2; 235 Pp. 49. |
| 51–52 | Same as Nos. 49 and 50; the name, however, is "*Rājo Mūlānand*". | Kārvār district | C. A. R. Plate VIII. G. P. 4. and 236. Pp. 60. |

(96) Cf. vol. I. pp. 352–3 and f. n. nos. 37, 38: again pp. 218 and f. n. no. 55.

(97) See f. n. no. 96 above.

(98) See f. n. no. 102 below and the matter connected with it; vol. I pp. 356, art (4). "Āndhrapati Śrimukh was Mahānanda's brother", vol. I. pp. 321–2.

(99) Vol. I. pp. 347 and 353 and f. n. no. 96 above.

(100) The Rāṣṭra dynasty that was established in the south, descended from this Mahārathī.

(101) These Pallavas ruled over the region encompassed by the Belārī

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| For more details, read the description of coins Nos. 49 & 50 below. | |
| These coins indicate the same origin as that of No. 37. Their place, however, is the west portion of Chittaladūrga district. The dynasties of Āndhra, Mahārathī and Dhuṭukadānand began at the same time[96]. They were independent of one another. All the three were off-shoots of the Nanda dynasty[97]. The Vrijji Kṣatriyas[98] also established independent kingdoms in south India at this time and established Jainism there. They have emigrated there in the time of Anuruddha and Muṅda[99]. Jaina kings like the king of Kadaṃba, Mahārathī of Rāṣṭrakūta dynasty[100] and Pallava kings[101] descended from these Vrijjis who were themselves a branch of the Saṁvrīji-Lichchhavī clan[102]. That was why they helped Chandragupta Maurya, who belonged to the same clan, when he invaded south India[103]. See description about Nos. 51 and 52. | About 420 B. C. |
| The same details as given in nos. 49 and 50. Mūlānand may be a successor of Dhuṭukaḍānand, or they may have been kings of neighbouring countries. The word "Rājño" indicates that he was an independent king. Neither the obverse nor the reverse side contains any sign which shows that he was subordinate to any other king. | About 420 B. C. |

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and Kadappā districts; the scholars have made a confusion about the Pallavas and the Palhavas by using one for the other, the result of which mistake will be given in vol. III, while writing a chapter on foreign invaders. See the appendix at the end of this volume about the inscription of the Sudarśan lake; see pp. 28 above and its f. n. no. 134.

(102) Pp. 28 above and f. n. no. 134.

(103) Vide the account of Chandragupta for his birth and his relation with the Ninth Nand king. Cf. f. n. no. 102 above.

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| 53-54 | Obverse:-Standing Horse with a "peculiar sign" above it; there is another round figure together with some words; but they are unintelligible. Reverse:-Ujjain sign; a dot in the centre. | Kadappā district | C. A. R. Plate V. 101 to 105. Pp. 25; and C. A. I. Plate XII, No. 10. |
| 55 | Obverse:-Uncertain. Reverse:-Standing Lion; some words on the right side but unreadable. | Godāvarī district. | C. A. R. Plate I: No. 14. Pp. 5. |

(104) This may stand for either the sovereignty of the Mauryas; or this may be to show that the Pallavas were an off-shoot of the Maurya family. The details about a Pallava governor in the inscription of the Sudarśan lake may be helpful. Cf. f. n. no. 101 above.

(105) Cf. f. n. no. 101 above; hitherto I was of the opinion that the Pallavas were an off-shoot of the Nandas; but now it seems to me more probable that they might have descended from the Mauryas.

(106) For details vide the account of Bindusār.

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| Scholars believe that the word "Riti" in the coin shows that the coin was struck by Visṇukanḍ, son of Hāriti. My opinion is that the horse with the crescent above it, denotes the sovereignty[104] of a Maurya king. Again the place from where it was obtained is Madras[105] which means that the kingdom of Chandragupta or Bindusār had extended upto that. The coin certainly does not belong to Priyadarśin, because it does not contain the Elephant sign. If we fix up the coin as belonging to Bindusār, it must have been struck during the first thirteen years[106] of his rule, because after that (i. e. after the death of Chāṇakya) anarchy and misrule prevailed, and most of the provinces became independent. (Cf. coins 67–68 below). Sir Cunningham has come to the conclusion that the sign denotes the Indo-Pārthian king Aśvavarman[107]; but the coin has been found from Madras and the Indo-Pārthian kingdom never extended upto that. (It may belong to a Pallava king, because it has been found from the Kadappā district). | B. C. 358 to B. C. 344. (14 years). |
| It is possible that the coin may belong to Gautamīputra Śrī Yagña Śātakarṇī (second Āndhra king). The lion shows that he was a follower of Mahāvīr. There is no sign indicating his vassalage to any king. At least at the time of striking these coins, he must have been quite independent. | B. C. 403 to 390[108]. (13 years). |

(107) Sir Cunningham has advanced no reasons for this belief; but his views strengthen our belief. The historians have declared that the Pallavas were Indo-Parthians; I have suggested that Palhavas should be considered the same as Pallavas (pp. 28 above and its f. n. no. 134); hence the people who are called the Palhavas by Sir Cunningham, are called the Pallavas by me, and thus these coins belong to the Pallava chiefs. Henceforth we will call the Pallavas to be a branch of the Mauryas (Cf. f. n. no. 105 above).

(108) For details vide vol. IV.

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| 56 | Obverse:–Chaitya with four arches and a Swastik above it with tree & dots.<br>Reverse:–Bow with arrow pointing upwards. The words are : "*Rajña Gatamiya putas Viḷivāyakuras*". | Mahārāṣṭra (Kolhāpur) | C. A. R. Plate 3. No. 47; Pp. 13. |
| 57 | Obverse:-Bow with arrow[112] pointing upwards; the words are :—"*Rajño Vāsidhiputas Vidiva kuras*"[113].<br>Reverse:–a large Chaitya and a tree.<br>(The side which is taken as obverse by Sir Cunningham is fixed up as reverse by Mr. Rapson). | Āndhra, Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī district. | C. A. I. Plate XII No. 1, 2. Pp. 109. and C. A. R. Plate II, Nos. 17, 18. |

(109) See f. n. no. 111 below.

(110) See vol. I. pp. 357.

(111) The absence of the Serpent shows that he was not under the power of the Nanda dynasty. and that is why we find the title "Vilivayakuras" prefixed to his name. See f. n. no. 109 above.

(112) This sign may denote the origin of the Āndhras; in the account of Śrimnkh. (vol. IV) it is stated that his mother belonged to a hunter's family; hence we find the bow with the arrow pointing upwards.

(113) For its meaning see details about coin no. 58.

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| There is no sign denoting his vassalage to any other king. The word "Vi ivāyakuras" suggests that the king must have been brave[109]. (See no 58 below). This Gautamīputra is none other than the second Āndhra king, the son of Śrīmukh and the husband of Nāganikā. For the last six years of his rule he was a vassal of the Mahānand of Magadh[110]; so this coin must have been struck before that time. Also the Serpent, the sign of the Nanda dynasty is seen nowhere[111]. | B. C. 403 to 390 (13 years). |
| Like coins nos. 67, 68 and 70, this has also the word "Vidivayakuras", which means that it belongs to the fourth Āndhra king. But it neither contains the Horse[114] with the Crescent like no. 67 nor does it contain the Serpent sign[115] like no. 70. This means that the king must have been independent[116]. His reign lasted from 372 B. C.[117] to 316 B. C. During that time, after the death of Chandragupta, Bindusār ruled from 358 to 330 B. C., and he was succeeded by Aśoka. We know that Aśoka's sway had declined in southern India[118]; the representatives from Ceylon had to return to Ceylon (under the leadership of prince Mahendra[120]) by sea, leaving the shores of Magadh near the source of | B. C. 346 to 316=30 years.[119] |

(114) The Horse with the Crescent is the symbol of the Maurya dynasty. (See the appendix—"More Details"—at the end of this chapter).

(115) It means the Śiśunāga dynasty. (The great serpent means the great Śiśunāga dynasty and the small means the small Śiśunāga dynasty.

(116) Vol. IV, for his life.

(117) The date of this coin strengthens our conclusion that the reign of Chandragupta began in B. C. 372.

(118) See the life of Aśoka further on.

(119) See f. n. no. 126 below for the date.

(120) Vide the account of Aśoka.

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| 56 | Obverse:-Chaitya with four arches and a Swastik above it with tree & dots.<br>Reverse:-Bow with arrow pointing upwards. The words are : "*Rajña Gatamiya putas Vilivāyakuras*". | Mahārāṣṭra (Kolhāpur) | C. A. R. Plate 3. No. 47; Pp. 13. |
| 57 | Obverse:-Bow with arrow[112] pointing upwards; the words are :—"*Rajño Vāsidhiputas Vidiva kuras*"[113].<br>Reverse:-a large Chaitya and a tree.<br>(The side which is taken as obverse by Sir Cunningham is fixed up as reverse by Mr. Rapson). | Āndhra, Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī district. | C. A. I. Plate XII No. 1, 2. Pp. 109. and C. A. R. Plate II, Nos. 17, 18. |

(109) See f. n. no. 111 below.

(110) See vol. I. pp. 357.

(111) The absence of the Serpent shows that he was not under the power of the Nanda dynasty. and that is why we find the title "Vilivayakuras" prefixed to his name. See f. n. no. 109 above.

(112) This sign may denote the origin of the Āndhras, in the account of Śrīmnkh. (vol. IV) it is stated that his mother belonged to a hunter's family; hence we find the bow with the arrow pointing upwards.

(113) For its meaning see details about coin no. 58.

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| There is no sign denoting his vassalage to any other king. The word "Vi ivāyakuras" suggests that the king must have been brave[109]. (See no 58 below). This Gautamīputra is none other than the second Āndhra king, the son of Śrīmukh and the husband of Nāganikā. For the last six years of his rule he was a vassal of the Mahānand of Magadh[110]; so this coin must have been struck before that time. Also the Serpent, the sign of the Nanda dynasty is seen nowhere[111]. | B. C. 403 to 390 (13 years). |
| Like coins nos. 67, 68 and 70, this has also the word " Vidivayakuras ", which means that it belongs to the fourth Āndhra king. But it neither contains the Horse[114] with the Crescent like no. 67 nor does it contain the Serpent sign[115] like no. 70. This means that the king must have been independent[116]. His reign lasted from 372 B. C.[117] to 316 B. C. During that time, after the death of Chandragupta, Bindusār ruled from 358 to 330 B. C., and he was succeeded by Aśoka. We know that Aśoka's sway had declined in southern India[118]; the representatives from Ceylon had to return to Ceylon (under the leadership of prince Mahendra[120]) by sea, leaving the shores of Magadh near the source of | B. C. 346 to 316=30 years.[119] |

(114) The Horse with the Crescent is the symbol of the Maurya dynasty. (See the appendix—"More Details"—at the end of this chapter).

(115) It means the Śiśunāga dynasty. (The great serpent means the great Śiśunāga dynasty and the small means the small Śiśunāga dynasty.

(116) Vol. IV, for his life.

(117) The date of this coin strengthens our conclusion that the reign of Chandragupta began in B. C. 372.

(118) See the life of Aśoka further on.

(119) See f. n. no. 126 below for the date.

(120) Vide the account of Aśoka.

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| 58 | Obverse:–A Chaitya with four arches; moon and tree above it, covered with dots; a Swastik above all these. Reverse:–Bow and arrow with the arrow pointing upwards; the words:– "*Rajña Vāsiṭhiputa Saviḷivāyakuras*". | Mahārāṣṭra, Kolhāpur[128]. | C. A. R. Plate I. No. 14. (Pp. 5). |

(121) Vide the account of Aśoka.

(122) Vide the account of the fourth Āndhra king.

(123) Vide the account of the spread of the empire of Chandragupta.

(124) Vide the account of the extent of Chandragupta's reign, Vol. I. pp. 353.

(125) Vide the account of Bindusār.

(126) Vide the account of Bindusār for the end of Chāṇakya's power.

(127) For the date of his retirement, vide the account of Bindusār.

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| River Godāvarī[120]. Had south India been under his[121] sway, the deputies must have taken the land route. Clearly, south India was under the absolute sway of Āndhra kings[122]. We know that as long as Chandragupta was on the throne of Magadh, the whole of southern India was under the power of Magadh[123], and that he could go upto Belgol on account of this[124]. His successor, Bindusār, being a weak king, was not match enough for this unwieldy empire and had to face many risings and rebellions[125]; but as long as Chāṇakya was alive, he maintained the strong position of Magadh[126]. Hence this coin must belong to the time which followed Chāṇakya's retirement[127], when Āndhra kings must have asserted their independence. | |
| It belongs to Vaśiṣṭhaputra Vilivayakuras, the fourth Āndhra king. The word Vilivay (Vīravalay= one who has put on a bracelet of valour) means that he was independent. (The Swastik, on the other hand, may mean his vassalage to Khārvel[129], cf. f. n. no. 56). Vilivay means Śrīmukh, the first Āndhra king, and Vidivay–Vadasatśrī means the fourth Āndhra king, the son of Queen Nāganikā. Śrīmukh may have established[130] his kingdom in Kolhāpur at first. (See coins Nos. 67–68). | B. C. 426 to 403. |

(128) His kingdom extended upto this. (Vide the account of the fourth Āndhra king).

(129) We find the Swastik in the rock-inscription of king Khārvel. It may have the same significance as the Elephant, which is given place by Priyadarśin in his inscriptions. Swastik is also a sign of Jainism.

(130) Vide his account, vol. IV, if Chuṭukānand and Mūlānand are related to Śrīmukh by blood. (Cf. coins Nos. 49, 50.)

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| 59 | Obverse:–Same as No. 58.<br>Reverse:–Same as No. 58; but the words are:– "*Rājno Mādhariputas Sivaḷakuras*" | Mahā-rāṣṭra, (Kolhāpur) | C. A. R. Plate II. No. 22, pp. 7. C. A. I. Plate XII, No. 1; the only differenec is that what one has named the reverse side the other has named the obverse. |
| 60 | Obverse:–Lion with its tail curling upwards; the Tree; words illegible.<br>Reverse:–C h a i t y a with three arches, with double border on all sides; Moon and Dots above. | Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī districts. | C. A. R. Plate III, No. 33, pp. 10. |
| 61 | Obverse:–Not distinct.<br>Reverse:–Standing Elephant, with the sign | Mālva and Andhra | C. A. R. Plate I. No. 1. Pp. 1. |

(131) Vide the account of Aśoka and cf. f. n. nos. 118, 120, 121, 122 and the matter connected with them.

(132) Cf. this time with the time of Aśoka's rule; the dynastic table of the Āndhras (Vol. IV) has been based on such irrefutable evidence of coins.

(133) Vol. IV, see the dynastic table of the Āndhras.

(134) The inscription of Nānāghāt belongs to Queen Nāganikā who conducted the affairs of the kingdom on behalf of her son, who was a minor. Again, she was a daughter of a Mahārathī. All these details agree with the third

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| It belongs to Mādharīputra Śātakarṇī Śīvalakuras, the fifth Āndhra king, who was independent during the reign of Aśoka. Maurya history declares that while Aśoka was in Pātliputra, his son Kuṇāl had become blind in Ujjaini; Priyadarśin was not yet born ever. (M. E. 223=B. C. 304). This king must have asserted his independence taking advantage of the weak rule in Ujjain[132]. | B. C. 318 to 299[131] (M.E. 209 to 228) 19 years. |
| It may belong to Śakasad or Śakasen, or to Mādharīputa Śakasen. That it contains the Lion only shows it belongs to Jainism and that the king was independent. The coins appear to be very ancient; it may belong to Mādharīputra, the fifth Āndhra king[133]. | B. C. 318 to 299[133]=19 years. |
| It is supposed to be belonging to Śrī Śātakarṇī[134]; who is connected with the rock-inscription of Nānāghāt. According to my conclusions, it belongs | B. C. 236 to 225, or more probably from 229 to 225 B C. |

Āndhra king, when Priyadarśin was not even born. The Elephant on the coin shows that it does not belong to the third or the fourth Āndhra king but to the seventh. During the reign of Priyadarśin, Kaling was under the power of Śātakarṇī Āndhra, who was not molested in any way though he was defeated twice over. I do not dwell upon them in details here because students of history know them well. Vide the accounts of the fourth, the sixth and the seventh Āndhra kings. The reader will, I think, feel convinced that all these theories are based on hard facts.

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| | denoting a River below it and a Fish floating in it. The words are "*Rajña s r s t s*". | | |
| 62 | Obverse:–Standing Elephant. Tree and the Chaitya with three arches; the River below, with fishing floating in it.<br>Reverse :–Standing Man and the Ujjain sign on the left; the words are: "*Rajño Siri Sātas*" | Mālvā | C. A. R. Plate I. No. 2. Pp. 1. |
| 63 | Obverse:–The Elephant with the trunk raised upwards; the words are:–*Sirikanha Sātakanis*"[136].<br>Reverse:–The sign of Ujjain with a dot in every circle. | Chandā district and Central India | C. A. R. Plate VII; No. 180, Pp. 48. |

(135) Details are stated in the inscription of Dhaulî and Jāgaudā. Vide the account of seventh Āndhra and f. n. no. 134 above.

(136) It belongs to the time which followed immediately the conquest of Kaling by Priyadarśin—the conquest which made him the emperor of India. The date of this conquest is 280 B. C.

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| to Śātakarṇī the seventh. The reverse side contains the Elephant and the obverse side shows nothing (at least it does not show the Elephant). This means that he was independent, and his account shows that he asserted his independence after the death of Priyadarśin. | |
| The Elephant on the obverse side shows the vassalage of Śrī Śātakarṇī[138] to Priyadarśin[136], while his sway prevailed over Mālavā. Calculations show that the king was the seventh Āndhra king (before the death of Priyadarśin; this coin belongs to the time previous to that of No. 61). | B. C. 281 to[137] 236=45 years. |
| The Elephant on the obverse side denotes the sovereignty of Priyadarśin. The Dhaulī Jāgaudā rock-inscription tells us that the king was not punished twice over[139] because he was a relative of Priyadarśin, to whom the inscription belongs. This coin illustrates one of these two occasions, and thus belongs to the sixth Āndhra king. Though Kṛṣṇa was also the name of the second Āndhra king, yet king Priyadarśin having been not even born at that time, the king is taken to be the sixth Āndhra king; his name must also have been Kṛṣṇa[140]. | B. C. 285 to 281=4 years. |

(137) See f. n. no. 136 above.

(138) This name has been found on the coin only, and no where else.

(139) See f. n. no. 135 above.

(140) See f. n. no. 138 above.

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| 64 | Obverse:–Standing Elephant; the words are:– "*Rājño Gautamiputas Siriyajña Sātakanis*". Reverse:–Ujjain sign. | | C. A. R. Plate VII, No. 164, Pp. 41. |
| 65 | Obverse:–The Elephant with the raised trunk; a Counch shell above it (perhaps Trī-ratna) and the Ujjain sign; the words are illegible. Reverse:–Tree methodically divided by a line drawn from the opposite corner. Every part has dots. | Western India | C. A. R. Plate IV; No. 59. Pp. 17. |
| 66 | Obverse:–The Elephant with a raised trunk; words are illegible. Reverse:–Ujjain sign with a dot in the circle. | Andhra, Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī districts | C. A. R. Plate VII; No. 183; Pp. 49. |
| 67–68 | Obverse:–The Standing Horse; the words are said to be "*Rājño Siri Chada satis*" on the strength of C. A. I. Plate XII, No. 14. But the words actually found in that book are:– "*Vadasatas*". | Andhra, Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī districts | C. A. R. Plate VI; No. 127; Pp. 32. C. A. I. Plate XII; No. 14. |

(141) See f. n. no. 134 above.

(142) For his date, vide vol. III.

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| The name is clearly given,–Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇī. The Elephant, however, shows that he was a vassal to Priyadarśin, and that the coin belongs to the sixth Āndhra king[141]. | B. C. 285 to 281=4 years. |
| Comparing with other similar coins, the words may be construed as:–" *Rajño Siri Sā* [*takanis*] ". The Elephant on the obverse denotes the sovereignty of Priyadarśin. That it has been found from Aparānt district shows that Śātakarṇī's power had spread upto that. The king may possible be the seventh Śātakarṇī. [ It may also have belonged to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī. It is certain that the coin is more ancient than the time of Nahapāṇ[142] ]. | B. C. 281 to 236. |
| The same as No. 63. | B. C. 285 to 281. |
| The inscription of Queen Nāganikā tells us that she managed the affairs of the kingdom on behalf of her son Vadasatśrī[143]. The Horse with the Crescent in the coin shows that it must have been struck during the reign of Chandragupta, while he was the ruler of Avanti[144]. ( Or it may belong to the time of Bindusār ). The king was the fourth Āndhra. ( We understand from this that Vidivayakuras must have been the title of the fourth Āndhra | B. C. 376 to 346. |

(143) Vide his account and the dynastic list of the Āndhras.

(144) Vide his account.

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| | Reverse:-Ujjain sign and a dot in the circle. | | |
| 69 | Obverse:-Chaitya and the Serpent; the words are illegible; we can construe them as, [*Rājño Go-tamiputas Si*] *ri yajña Satakanis.*" Reverse:-Ujjain sign. | | C. A. I. Plate XII; No. 12. (copper coin). |
| 70 | Obverse:-Chaitya and the Serpent below; the words are the same as in Nos. 67-68. | Same as Nos. 67-68. | C. A. I. Plate XII; No. 13. Pp. 110. |
| 71 | Obverse:-Standing Horse with its face on the right side; the words are:- "*Rājno Gotamiputas Siriyajña Sātakanis*". Reverse:-Ujjain sign and a dot in the circle. | Same as above. | C. A. R. Plate VI; 148; G. P. 6. Pp. 38. |

(145) Now, I think, the readers will clearely understand the implications of the term "Āndhrabhṛtya". Whenever the Āndhra kings were under the vassalage of either the Nandas or the Mauryas, they were called "Āndhrabhṛtyas", and whenever they were independent, they were called "Āndhras". The scholars have interpretted the term as "the servants of the Āndhras",

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| king and that Vilivayakuras, that of the first; cf. coin No. 58. (For time cf. Nos. 70, and 67 to 72). | |
| Chaitya stands for Jainism, and the Serpent on the obverse for the supremacy of the Nanda dynasty over Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Śātakarnī, whose name is found on the reverse. He was the husband of Queen Nāganikā. He was the subordinate king under Ninth Nand (cf. coins No. 71-72 below). | before B. C. 372; 372 to 386 B. C. (cf. No. 72 below). |
| This coin also belongs to the fourth Āndhra king, but the Serpent on the obverse shows that he was under the power of the Nandas; Nos. 67 and 68, on the other hand, contain the Horse with the Crescent, showing the supremacy of the Mauryas. We know these latter kings as Āndhrabhṛtyas[145]. Thus the coin belongs to the time when Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vaśiṣṭhaputra[146] wrested the reins of the kingdom from the hands of Queen Nāganikā. At this time Mahānand was on the throne of Magadh. Thus this coin was struck within the compass of one year[147] (cf. coin No. 73). | B. C. 370, M. E. 157. |
| All other details same as No. 69, except that the standing Horse here denotes the supremacy of Chandragupta Maurya, while the Serpent in No. 69, denotes supremacy of the Nandas. Thus No. 69 was struck before 372 B. C. and Nos. 71, 72, after 372 B. C. (cf. No. 69). Thus Nos. 70, 67, 68, in order of their time, belong to the same king, | B. C. 317 definitely. |

which is not correct. Vide vol. I. pp 151, f. n. no. 13, and vol. I pp. 356, f. n. no. 47.

(146) Vide his account.

(147) Vide his account.

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| 73 | Obverse:-The Elephant with its trunk raised above; the words are:- "*Siri Pulumāvis*"[148]. Reverse:-Ujjain sign; the Moon above it, and a dot in every circle. | Central India and Chāndā district. | C. A. R. Plate V. No. 90; Pp. 21. |
| 74 | Obverse:-The Chaitya with three arches, with curved lines below; the words are :—"*Rājña* [ *Vāsiṭhiputas Siri* ] *Puḷumāvis*". Reverse:-Ujjain sign with a dot in every circle, and double bracelets. | Andhra, Krsṇā and Godāvrī districts. | C. A. R. Plate V. Nos. 88, 89. Pp. 20. |
| 75 | Obverse :-Chaitya with three arches having a dot in each of them, and a curved line below | Nasik district; the collection of Jogal-thambhī | C. A. R. Plate IX; No. 253. Pp. 68. |

(148) Like the terms "Gautamīputra" and "Vasiṣṭhaputra" "Puḷumāvī" has also been frequently used, which makes it difficult to distinguish these kings. It is "good sign that sometimes we get a Pulumāvī I or II" in order to distinguish one from the other.

<table>
<tr><td>and Nos. 69 and 71, struck before the former, belong to the same king. Thus their order, as far as their time is concerned, is:–69, 71, 72, 70, 67 68).<br><br>Before the time of Nahapāṇ; the Elephant denotes the supremacy of Priyadarśin. The king was thus Seventh Āndhra, Vaśiṣṭhaputra Śātakarṇī, like coin No. 65 above; only the place is different.</td><td>B. C. 281 to 236.</td></tr>
<tr><td>It is the same as No. 65 above, only its place is different; while No. 65 belongs to western India, this belongs to eastern India, which must not have been under the power of Priyadarśin at that time. Otherwise the elephant would have been on the coin. It is more plausible to fix it up as belonging to the time of the seventeenth Āndhra king. The dots in the bracelets[149] show that it belonged to the time after that of Nahapāṇ.<br><br>--</td><td>B. C. 281 to 236 but more probably B. C. 113 to 91.</td></tr>
<tr><td>It belongs to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī; it proves his conquest over Nahapāṇ or over his descendant.</td><td>B. C. 1.</td></tr>
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(149) These dots are as far as I think, a later development, like the introduction of the portrait-head by Nahapāṇ.

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| | each with the words:- "*Rājño Gotamīputas siri sātakanis.*" Reverse:-Ujjain sign and the Moon above it [Words are again printed on the portrait-head of Nahapāṇ, making it difficult to recognise it[150].] | | |
| 76 | Obverse:-Portrait-head; the words are:-"*Rājño Gotamīputas siri yajña Sātakanis*". Reverse:-Ujjain sign, with the Moon above it, and a Chaitya with six arches etc.; the same words but written in the Brāhmī script of the Deccan. | Surāṣṭra | C. A. R. Plate VII; No. E. L. and J. B. Pp. 45; C. A. I. Plate XII, No. 4. |

(150) This is the first instance of striking again an already struck coin. It may have been done so, in order to show the superiority of the succeeding king over the former one; or to show internal hatred towards him.

(151) Jaina Literature contains the words "King Bala Śrī" in place of "Queen Bala Śrī". For details vide vol. IV.

(152) I believe that he never conquered Avanti. The coin originally belonged to Nahapāṇ who must have got it struck after he achieved conquest over Avanti. Gautamīputra must have got his name stamped on the side containing the portrait-head of Nahapāṇ, in order to commemorate his conquest. (or, according to the inscription of queen Bala Śrī, in order to wipe off the stain

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| (See the rock-inscription of Queen Balaśrī[151] at Nāsik); the name on the obverse side denotes his independence; the Ujjain sign on the reverse shows his paramountcy (?) over Avanti[152]. Now the question is whether the king was the 18th or the 26th Āndhra king. The Chaitya and other things show that he was a Jain. From the 26th Āndhra onwards, Vedic religion had become the state religion, as the legends say[153]. (This requires to be supported by the evidence of coins or rock-inscription). For details vide the account of Āndhra xviii, in vol IV. | |
| The portrait-head shows that the king was a contemporary of Nahapāṇ. The absence of the Elephant shows that it does not belong to the time of Priyadarśin. Its place, Surāṣṭra, fixes the king to be the 18th Āndhra king, Gautamīputra[154]. (The reverse side is struck again in such a way in J. B. that its letters are not quite legible). It may be a reprint of No. 26 Āndhra king, as he is supposed to have made the coins current by restriking the coins of Nahapāṇ. | 62 to 84 A. D.<br><br>More probably as in No. 75 |

to his family). He left the other side intact, because he found that, not only there was nothing objectionable on it, but that it would increase his fame. These coins are found from places which were first under the power of Nahapāṇ, and then under the rule of Gautamīputra. If these coins were, or may be found from Avanti or any other region, he must be considered as the Lord of Avanti. See no. 76 for the coins of Gautamīputra found in other places. They contain only one print.

(153) Vide his account.

(154) See f. n. no. 152 above, for [illegible] No. 75 and 76.

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| 77 | See the details about Nos. 58, 59. | | C. A. I. Plate XII; No. 1; and C. A. R. Plate II; No. 23 E. |
| 78 | See no. 56 above. | | C. A. I. Plate XII; No. 6. C. A. R. Plate III; No. 47 E. |
| 79 | Obverse:–Standing Lion. The words are illegible; but the beginning words are "*Siri*' and the ending are "*Sānis*". Reverse:–Ujjain sign and a dot in the circle. | Andhra, Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī districts | C. A. R. Plate V. No. G. P. 2. Pp. 24. |
| 80 | Obverse:–Chaitya with the Moon above it, and the Lotus and the Conch-shell with a curved line below. The words are "*Rājño Gautamiputas Siri yajña Sātakanis*". Reverse:–Ujjain sign. | | C. A. R. Plate VI; No. 13; Pp. 34. C. A. I. Plate XII; N. 9. |
| 81 | Obverse:–A ship with two sails[155]; the words are not legible; they may be, "*Siri Puḷumāvis*". Reverse:–Ujjain sign. | Coromandal coast | C. A. R. Plate V. No. 95; Pp. 22. |

(155) Like some signs showing regional peculiarity, (see above pp. 50) this sign also signifies marine relations.

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| The side which is called reverse in C. A. R; is called the obverse in C. A. I. Everything else is all right. | |
| It may belong to Vaśiṣṭhaputra Pulumāvi, the 17th Āndhra king. It belongs to the time that preceded the assumption of the title "Raja" by Nahapāṇ, when Bhūmak was a Mahākṣatrap, but not the lord of Avanti. At this time the Andhras were independent. | B. C. 117 to 110 |
| The name of the king on the obverse side shows that he was independent. If he can be fixed up as the second Āndhra king, its time was 403 B. C. to 390; and if he can be fixed up as the 6th Āndhra, its time was 299 to 285 B. C. (14 years) | B. C. 299 to 285 14 years. |
| Mr. Eliot is of the opinion that it belongs to the Kurumbaras and the Pallavas, who ruled over the Coromandal coast at this time. My calculations lead me to believe that it belongs to the Āndhras, whose power extended upto this coast. The king to be decided is, whether it belongs to the seventh; or 17th or 27th Āndhra. Had there been an Elephant it would have been fixed up as belonging to the seventh. Now we have to decide whether it is an old or a new coin. It is more probable that it belongs to the 27th. | 100 A. D. |

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| 82-83 | Obverse:–A Lion in a jumping posture on the right side; a Swastik above it; square dots, indistinct letters in a reverse order in the Brāhmī script (*Rājño Satakanis*).<br>Reverse:–Ujjain sign with the foot-print of the Bull over it; Tree on the right side and square dots. | | C. A. R. Plate I; Nos. 9 and Plate 11; Pp. 4. (Potin) |
| 84 | Obverse:–Chaitya with three arches, a curved line below; the words "*Rājña Vāsiṭhiputas Sivasiri Sātakanis*".<br>Reverse:Ujjain sign; each circle has a double lining with dots in them. | Andhra, Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī districts | C. A. R. Plate V; No. 115; Pp. 29. |
| 85 | Obverse:–The crowned portrait-head of the king on the right. The words in incorrect Greek are:–"*Khoranon Zaoou Kozola*"<br>Reverse.–The king is sitting on the chair; the words are in the Khāroṣṭhī script "*Kaphasasa Sachadhrana Thitasa Keishanasa yiiasa* (coin) *of Kapsha, chief of the Kushanas, stead fast in the true law.*" | | C. J. B. Plate No. 2; fig. No. I. (Copper) |

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| Cf. coins Nos. 38, 39; they are round, while these two are square; they do not bear any name, these do. So the former may have belonged to the Gardabhīls, and the latter may belong to Śātakarṇī or to the Āndhras when they were all cemented with the friendship of the Gardabhīlas, who were then the lords of Avantī. | B. C. 60 to A. D. 3. |
| The dot in the circle shows that it was struck before the time of Nahapāṇ, and the word Vaśiṣṭha-putra fixes the king as the 17th Āndhra, or the 25th. But by the latter's time, federal system of government had disappeared, which fixes the coin to be belonging to the 17th. | According to Z D M G 1902, 170 A. D. According to my conclusion B. C. 127 to 110 |
| Details are clear, and require no explanation. It belongs to Kadaphasis I. | For its time see his account in Vol. IV. |

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| 86 | Obverse:–The king is sitting in a squatting posture; with crescented crown on his head and a club in the right hand. There are letters on the left side:–*Basileus Ooemo Kadaphises*". Reverse:–Śiva in front of the Bull (?) with Triśūla in the right hand. The words are written in the Kharoṣṭhī script:–*Maharajasa Rajadhirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa Mahisvarasa Vima Kathphisasa tradara* (*coin*) *of the great king, the king of kings lord of the world, the Mahesvara Wima Kathaphisis, the defender.* | | C. J. B. Plate II, fig. 3. (Gold coin) |
| 87 | Obverse :–Lustrous figure of the king with his face turned to the left, he has a spear in the left hand; the letters are written in the Greek language:—" *Shaonaoshas Kaneshki Koshano* (*coin*) *of the king of kings Kanishka the Kushan*". Reverse:–Figure of a Buddhist monk with a bag in his hand; some sign on the right; the | | C. J. B. Plate II, fig. 4. ( Gold coin ) |

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| It belongs to Wima Kadaphasis or Kadaphasis the Second. | as above |
| It belongs to Kaniṣka I. | as above |

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| | word *"Buddha"* is written on the left in Greek. | | |
| 88 | Obverse:–The same as No. 87, but the king has put on an armour. The name is *"Bosodeo"*.<br>Reverse:–Many faced Śiva standing with the Bull, with Triśūla in the left hand. Some letters on the right and the letters *"oesho"* on the left. | | C. J. B. Plate II; fig. No. 9. (Gold coin) |
| 89 | Obverse:–Same as No. 87, but the words are:– "S*hao* K*aneshki*".<br>Reverse:-The God of Wind, running to the left, naked and lustrous; the letters *"oado"* on the right. | | C. J. B; Plate II; fig. No. 6. (Copper coin) |
| 90 | Obverse:–The king in a squatting posture, with a stick in the left hand, and the sceptre in the right hand; the words are the same as in No. 87 with the change in one word *"Oēshki"*.<br>Reverse:–Warrior with a beard, with the skin of the lion and a long staff in the left hand, and some kind of fruit in the right hand; the words *"Herakelo"* on the right. | | C. J. B. Plate II; fig. No. 8. (Gold coin) |

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| It belongs to Vāsudev. | as above |
| It belongs to Kaniṣka II. | as above |
| It belongs to Huviṣka. | as above |

# More Details

While this chapter was being hurried to the press, I happened to read an article on "Early signed coins of India" by Pandit Jayaswal, which was printed in No. 3–4 (1934, September-October) Vol. XX, of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. The article contains interesting, and hitherto unpublished, facts on the coins of the Maurya and the Śunga dynasties. I felt great delight when I found that the conclusions at which I had independently arrived three or four years ago were thus supported by such a reputed scholar. Below I have given some interesting facts from the article:—

(1) About coin No. 93, the Pandit says[1]. "I take the head to be that of the king, not of Demon (Cunningham and Smith). I find no protruding tongue but a toothless mouth and a similing face on the C. A. I. coin. The face there is of an old man[2] of about 70 years or above." Another coin of the same type has been found to be containing the word "Subhāgsen" on it. So these two coins are fixed up as belonging to Subhāgsen[3]. The Pandit again writes on Pp. 284:–"He is to be identified with a Maurya prince in the neighbourhood of Gāndhār. This Maurya prince was probably the ruler of Kaśamir, who is named Jāloka in the history of Kaśamir." I have quoted this sentence here in order to draw the reader's attention to the fact that the Pandit also believed that Subhāgsen was a Maurya prince. Details about Jāloka (Jālauka) and Kaśamir are given later on[4].

(2) In the description of coins Nos. 91 and 92, the Pandit has repeatedly emphasized upon the "Moon on the hill" as "the

(1) Ibid Pp. 283.

(2) The similarity between the conclusions arrived at by me and by the Pandit will be clearly seen in the account of Subhāgsen at the and of this Vol.

(3) See f. n. no. 2 above.

(4) For details on Subhāgsen vide at the end of this Vol. If the size of this volume allows, details about Jālauka will be given in an appendix.

most prominent Maurya symbol[5] ". This statement is proved very often by me while describing Maurya coins in this chapter. Again these signs[6] are proved to be belonging to Jainism, because all the Maurya kings, except Aśoka[7]. (who was also at first a Jain[8]) were Jains. The Mauryas have selected this sign with a particular motive. They were staunch Jains, and loved their religion and respected their preceptors. Chandragupta, the founder of this dynasty, was inspired to select this sign[9] by his preceptor Bhadrabāhu, the famous Jaina monk[10]

Every Jain understands the significance of this sign. Such questions are minutely discussed in journals like the Indian Antiquery.

Every Jain generally goes to a temple of his religion once a day. After entering it, he depicts a Swastik with unbroken grains of rice on a low square stool; then he arranges three small heaps over it and lastly over them the. grains of rice in such a way as to present the sign of the Moon[12]. I have already explained the meaning of the Swastika. The three heaps mean the Ratna-traya-knowledge, realization of true insight and character.

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(5) The sign denoting the dynasty is "the Horse with the Crescent"; "the Moon on the Hill" indicates the religion. (Cf. the religious sign of the Chasṭhaṇa Kṣatrapas).

(6) These signs will provide solutions to the riddles. e. g. Questions and points raised at the end of the first chapter.

(7-8) Details will be given in the account of Aśoka.

(9) It is well-known that he had become a Jaina monk during the retiring period of his life. Vide his account.

(10) The gigantic idol at Śravaṇa Belgol in the south is of Bhadrabāhu. More details are given in the account of Chandragupta. For his number in the rank of monks from the time of Mahāvīr, see f. n no. 126 Pp. 26. He is famous as "Śruta Kevalī" among the Jains. All the three sections of Jainism respect him highly.

(11) Akṣata—These grains are taken unbroken with the desire that the worshipper may attain salvation which is faultless. This custom is now observed "more in breach", because it is very difficult to get unbroken grains of rice every day. (Akṣata is now taken in the sense of "rice" in place of the original meaning "unbroken.")

(12) For details see pp. 46 and seq..

The symbol of the moon at the top stands for the salvation-slab[13]. The whole sign thus means:—"May I attain salvation with the help of Ratna-traya, by freeing myself from the eternal cycle of the world"

(3) The Pandit states on Pp. 285:—"The occurrence of Elephant which is almost a constant emblem on Maurya coins etc." But the Elephant is the sign of one Maurya king only, namely Priyadarśin. It is not the family sign, like the "Moon on the Hill." I have been emphasizing upon, and giving publicity to, this fact for last ten years[14].

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| 91 | J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XX, No. 34, Plate I, fig. Nos. 5 and 6.<br>No. 5 :<br>Obverse:-[*Rā*]*jño Sampra*,<br>Reverse:-*Maurya*<br>No. 6 :<br>Obverse:-*Sapatis*<br>Reverse:-*Maurya*<br>Both these coins bear the Swastika, the Chaitya and Moon also. | | Coin No. 3 above. C. A. I. Plate II, No. 20.<br><br>J. B. O. R. S. Plate I. No. 56. |

(13) Those persons who have attained salvation are called "Siddhas" in the Jaina literature. The Jains believe that all such persons reside on a broad slab of stone, which is known as "Siddha-śilā".

(14) See my article "Emperor Aśoka dislodged" which I had written at the time of the Fifth session of the All India Oriental Conference at Lahore in 1929; shortly after this a Gujarātī translation of this article was submitted by me at the "Ninth Sāhitya Parişad" at Nadiad. The same article was contributed by me in the Silver Jubilee number of the "Jain", (Bhāvnagar). A certain Sūryanārāyaṇ Vyās of Ujjain has written a Hindi rendering of the same (without my permission) in the Śrāvaṇ number, 1919, of "Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā", (Kāśī).

(4) The Pandit states on Pp. 285:—" Hollow cross (probably meaning all-India empire) the moon-on-the hill and Swastika" ( see coins Nos. 91-92 below ). I have to add that the Śwastika on the Maurya coins, be it hollow, half-stamped or incomplete, is a sign of Jainism

Now we turn to the coins again.

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| The letters are clearly given; the coin bears the Swastika, the Chaitya and the Moon on it. The coin evidently belongs to Samprati[15], who being a Jain[16] got these Jaina signs struck on the coins.[17].<br><br>Coin No. 6 (No. 91 here), has a hollow Swastika which Pandit Jayaswalji[18] interprets as "All-India empire." According to Jaina books[19] it means three oceans[20] and the Hymalayas, over which the king had established his power[21]. Jaina books thus give the sign a wider meaning of the term, and show the extent of the king's empire. | B. C. 289 to 236 and specially 282 to 266 B. C. |

(15) For the other name of Samprati, vide the account of Priyadarśin

(16) For his religion vide the account of Priyadarśin.

(17) All these are Jaina signs See pp. 46 and " More Details " above.

(18) See "More Details" above.

(19) The coin belongs to Samprati, who was a Jain; he must have got these signs inscribed after understanding their meaning. (See f. n. no 16).

(20) Vide K. S S. Com pp. 18.

(21) This subject is geographical and the Jaina belief about it. Details about it would be a digression here.

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| 92 | Obverse:-The Elephant between the Chaitya and the Bodhi tree, with its ears spreading on both the sides; with the trunk and the portruding tusks; hollow Swastik, Chaitya and Moon.<br>Reverse:-Horse with the Crescent;Chaitya etc. the word is '*Dasara*[*tha*]'. | | C. A. I. Plate III No. 5. Pp. 62. J. B. O. R. S. Plate I. No. 1. |
| 93 | Obverse:-A portrait-head with ears,nose and eyes; it may be the head of a demon[30], because the tongue is protruding out of the mouth; it may be an adversary of Buddhism; there are some letters on its head, but they are illegible.<br>Reverse:-Bodhi Tree and Chaitya on both the sides. | | C. A. I. Plate No. 7. Pp. 63. J. B. O. R. S. Plate I. No. 7. |

(22) The coin suggests his supremacy, which he established in the ninth year of his reign. Or it may have been struck in commemoration of his rock and pillar inscriptions,—the work which continued for the first twenty-six years of his rule.

(23) It contains a reference to the charitable help rendered by Daśarath to the monks of the Ājīvika sect.

(24) See "More Details" above, for the thoughts of Pandit Jayaswāl on the Elephant.

(25) For relations between Daśarath and Priyadarśin, vide the account of Priyadarśin, and the appendix at the end of this book.

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| The religious signs show, that king Daśarath was a Jain, as is also shown by the rock-inscription of the Nāgārjun caves[23]. The Elephant on the obverse[24] shows its connection with Priyadarśin[25]; but the Elephant on its coin, unlike its figure on other coins, has tusks[26]. So Daśarath, and Priyadarśin might have been equals and contemporaries[27].<br><br>For the meaning of the horse with the crecent see coins Nos. 67, 68, 71 and 72 etc. | B.:C. 289 onwards [22] |
| Pandit Jayaswālji says that the head is not of a demon, but of a human being. The tongue is not protruding out, but it looks like that because the jaw is that of a toothless old man[29]. The face is smiling. I agree with the Pandit.<br><br>Another similar coin is seen by the Pandit in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. On its reverse are the words "*Subhāgasen*". So these two coins are fixed up as belonging to Subhāgasen[31].<br><br>The signs which are interpretted as the Tree and the Chaitya by Sir Cunningham, appears to be that of a Triśūla to me. Such Triśūlas are found in the Jaina caves of Orissā. (See pp. 56 above). | B. C. 236 to 226[28]. |

(26) In the coins of kings who were under the vassalage of Priyndarśin, the Elephant is stamped without its tusks. Their presence in the coins of Daśarath shows that he was independent.

(27) See f. n. no. 26 above.

(28) For its time see the appendix on Daśarath at the end of this book.

(29) Pp. 126 above, for these coins.

(30) See f. n. no. 29 above.

(31) For details about Subhāgasen, vide his account.

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| 94 | Obverse:-Bodhi Tree and Chaitya; the words are: "[*A*]*gimitas*". Reverse:-Bull with the face to the left, and the Chaitya; this coin has not been reprinted here; see Nos. 18 & 40. | Pañchāl | C. A. I. Plate VIII, No. 16, Pp. 83. Nos. 18 and 40 in this book. |
| 95 | These three coins are similar to one another. As the prints on them are not very distinct, they are not produced here. The details given below are on the authority of Sir Cunningham. No. 10: Obverse:-Elephant on the left; Chaitya; "*Sivadattas*". Reverse:-Chaitya. No. 11: Obverse:-as above. Reverse:-Ujjain sign. | Ayodhyā | C. A. I. Plate IX, Nos. 10, 11. Pp. 93. C. A. I. Plate III, No. 6. Pp. 63. C. H. I. Plate 23; No. 36. |

(32) See f. n. no. 33 below.

All scholars have, as if, conspired to fix up Agnimitra as belonging to Śuṅga dynasty[32], and then have tabulated this and other similar coins as belonging to this dynasty[33]. But the signs on the coin prove it to be belonging to Jainism. Again all the Śuṅgas were the followers of the Vedic religion. (Vol. III, for details). For the dynasty and the time of this Agnimitra vide vol. I. Pp. 305 and pp. 325 to 328; and coin No. 16 above. Agnimitra must have been just another name of Sudev, Dhanadev or Aśvaghoṣa, just as Bṛhaspatimitra's another name was Jethamitra. (Cf. details of coins Nos. 18 and 40).

B C. 427 to 417.

Pandit Jayaswāl's interpretation is as follows.– "These two coins belong to Maurya Deva series. They are intimately connected. The legend was read by Sir Cunningham as Śivadatasa, but the reading was doubted by Vincent Smith. (C. I. M. 144).

From 1 B.C. to 230 A. D. approximately

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| No. 10 : *Sālisuka* [ *s* ]<br>No. 11 : *Sā*[*li*]*suka* [.] | These words prove that the coins belonged to Śāliśuka. For details about them see the appendix at the end of this book. |

(33) J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XX, Plate II, No. 1, 2 and 3, and details about it Pp. 291 and so on.

Note:—The readers will find that the following are the main points of these chapters on coins:—

( 1 ) Coins of all dynasties and kings coming within the time-limit of this book, are described here.

( 2 ) Religious signs on them are fully discussed and explained.

( 3 ) I have arrived at definite conclusions on those points where the evidence was convincing. Other points I have left open to discussion and research.

( 4 ) These chapters are an eloquent testimony to the fact that almost all the ancient kings were Jains, which was the all-pervading religion in ancient India. Some critics have charged me with a blind passion to show the supremacy of Jainism over all things, but the readers will see that the book contains no definite conclusion which is not well warranted by facts and convincing pieces of evidence based on coins and inscriptions.

# Supplement to the chapters on coins

A detail or two remain to be stated in regard to coins before we declare quits with them.

It is a common belief that the place, from where a particular coin was found, was ruled by the king whose name or likeness was borne by the coin. We will prove (vide Vol. III) in the account of Bhūmak that this contention is not true in all cases. Coins of Menander were found in Broach though he never ruled over it. This will also be explained in his account. Queen Bālaśrī had engraved the description of the victory of her grandson Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī over the Kṣaharātas and the Śakas in the rock-inscription at Nāsik; I intend to give details about this in the account of the kingdom of Nahapāṇ as it is inopportune to speak anything here. Hitherto my belief was that he was the 26th king of the Śatavahan dynasty. Later evidence, however, has made me correct this contention. His was the 20th number in the dynasty. Hence several changes in his date and other details will have to be stated here[1]. Coins of this king have been found from Surāṣṭra (vide Plate V, No. 76); yet his sovereignty was never established over that region. He had, however, invaded Saurāṣṭra at the behest of Śakāri Vikramāditya of Avanti, and had slaughtered the Śakas and the Kṣaharātas (Vide account of Ṛsabhadev and Devanak, B. C. 52 in Vol. III). Hence the coins bear the sign of Avanti—permitted by the king of Avanti as a mark of grace—and hence they were found from Saurāṣṭra with the portrait-head of Nahapāṇ superimposed with the likeness of this king[2].

As regards script, the common convention is that the obverse side bore the script of the sovereign power, while the reverse had that of the province where the coins were circulated. This rule will make it easy to understand over what provinces foreign people like the Greeks, the Yons, the Bactrians, the Parthians, the Palhavās, the Kṣaharātas, the Śakas and the Scythians ruled

(1) Details of his account in this vol will have to be changed. For more details vide vol. IV—the account of the Āndhra dynasty.

(2) Details about this will be given in vol. IV.

Let us explain this by examples. We take the Greeks first. They never had any sort of established power over any part of India (Vol. II. Chap. 7). Hence their coins (either of Alexander or of his governors) bear only the Greek script and no Indian script. Hardly any coin will be found in India bearing the portrait-head of the first three or four Yon kings; the presence of any stray coin of these kings can be explained on the ground that when these kings invaded and plundered India, some coins must have been dropped by them. Demetrius was the first to settle in India, and so plenty of coins bearing his likeness and that of his successor Menander are found. These coins have the Kharoṣṭhī[3] script—their mother-tongue—on one side, and the Brāhmī script on the other. Same is the case with the Parthians and the Śakas. The Pahlavī script resembles the Kharoṣṭhī[4] very much[5]; and there is much similarity between the Greek script and the Kharoṣṭhī. Hence some scholars have erred into the belief that some Pārthian emperors were Yons and that some Yons were Śakas and so on—there is no end to confusion. This rule also applies to the Indian currency by the Britons.

One more detail and we shall finish.

I will state in the account of Demetrius and Menander that when they came to India, they brought with them Bhūmak and Rājuvul. Later researches go to prove that Rājuvul[6] never accompanied them to India. Hagāmās might have probably accompanied them. Rājuvul never came to India as a Kṣatrap. After the death of Menander, he defeated Bhānumitra of the Śuṅga dynasty, and conquered Mathurā, declaring himself directly as a Mahākṣatrap. Hence we do not find coins of Rājuvul in his capacity as a Kṣatrap—because he never was one. He was thus superior to Bhūmak.

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(3) Demetrius was a Yon—Bactrian by birth; his settling for good in India may be taken to call him an Indian. Menander was a Kṣaharāṭ by birth, but he has been called a Yon because he served under one. These people may be called Indo-bactrians and so on like Indo-parthians.

(4) The present Persian script must have come into existence later.

(5) I hope that this contention of mine will be collaborated by other experts.

(6) More details about this will be given in the account of Rājuvul.

# Appendix

This is an addition to the account of the coins already given.

| No. | Details given by other writers | Books containing their accounts | Evidence to determine to whom the coin belongs; final conclusion | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 96 | Obverse:– The right side of an Elephant's head with a bell round its neck. Reverse:– *"Rajatirajas Mahatas Moas"* and a sort of staff. | C. H. I. Plate No. 6. fig. No. 2. | The Indo-parthian emperor "Moses" got two kinds of coins imprinted. Both have the head of the elephant; but one has a staff and the other has the bull. Their likenesses are given in Nos. 96, 97. He has assumed the title "Rājādhirāj", which means that he considered himself to be not inferior to an emperor. He states that he was related to the emperor of Persia. While the title of Ayas in No. 98, suggests that he was a kith and kin of the Persian emperor. For more details read No. 98 below. | B.C. 85 to 75 |
| 97 | Obverse:– Elephant on the right, with some words. Reverse:– *"Rajatirajas Mahatas Moas"*. Bull's face showing its right side. | C. H. I. Plate No. 6. fig. No. 9. | Ibid. | Ibid. |

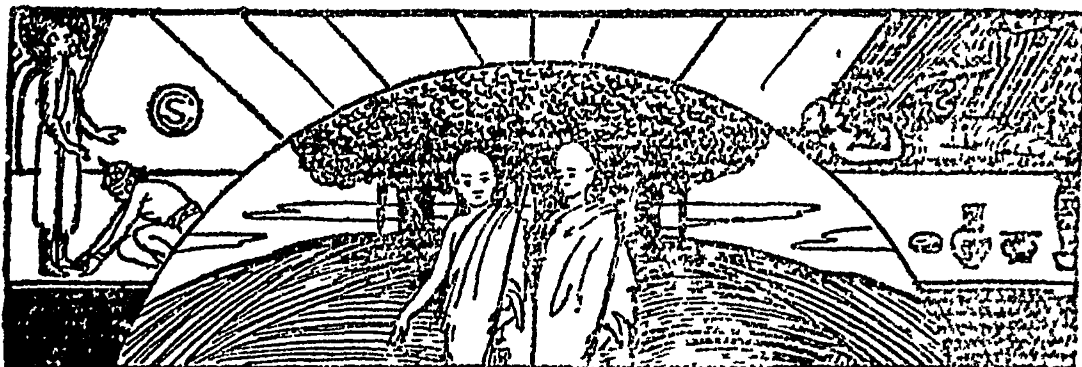
| No. | Description | Reference | Remarks | Period |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 98 | Obverse:- King riding a horse on the right side. Reverse:- "*Maharajas Rajarajas Mahatas Ayas*"; a standing idol of a God. | C. H. I. Plate No. 7. fig. No. 30. | In this figure and in No. 8 of C. H. I. both the coins are stated to have belonged to Ayas I. But looking to the words "Rajatirajas" in the coin of Moses above, in that of Ayas here, and to "Mahārāj Rajatiras" in the coin of Gondofarnes (No. 99), it becomes clear that Moses must have been a distant member of the Persian royal family. Similarly, Ayas I and Aziliz were also related to the same family. (See f. n. below for reasons). Hence they could not assume the title of "Mahārājādhirāj", though they could make themselves known as "Rājādhirāj" because they were independent Indo-parthian rulers. Ayas II and Gondofarnes, on the other hand, were direct members of the royal family, and thus could assume the title of "Mahārājādhirāj". In short, this coin seems to belong to Ayas II and not to Ayas I. [Foot-note:-C. H. I. Pp. 586 to 592; coins of Moses are in Plate No. 8 (fig. No. 48) and in plate No. 6 (fig. Nos. 9 and 12). Also see the catalague of coins in the British Museum; No. 26 and 8. For Ayas I. B. M. C. coins No. 160, 137, 56 and 187; for Aziliz, ibid coins Nos. 40, 23 and 39; and in J. R. A. S. 1905, pp. 788, Plate No. 3. In all these coins, | B.C. 30 to A.D. 19= 49 yrs. |

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| | | | the word "Maharajatiras" is stamped for these three kings. While in case of Ayas II (C. H. I. Plate VIII, fig. Nos. 45, 46, and 49) the word is "Maharaja Rajatiras". Hence we come to the conclusion that the first three Indo-parthian kings were distantly connected with the royal family, while the last two were closely related with it. ] | |
| 99 | Obverse:– The king riding a horse on the right and a sort of sign. Reverse:– "*Maharajā Rajatiras Trātar Devavrata Gudafaras*"; a standing idol of God. | C. H. I. Plate No. 8. fig. No. 32. | This coin belongs to the fifth Indo-parthian emperor Gondofarnes. (Table pp. 144 and 405). Being a close relative of the royal family he assumed the title of "Mahārājādhirāj". Read f. n. above for details. | A. D. 19 to 45 |
| 100 | Obverse:– A king riding a horse. Reverse:– "*Mahārājas Rajarajas Mahatas Ayas*"; a man standing in a particular pose. | C. H. I. Plate No. 8. fig. No. 45. | It belongs to the fourth Indo-parthian king Ayas II. Being a close relative of the Persian royal family he has also assumed the title of "Mahārājādhirāj". | B.C. 30 to 19 A.D. =49 yrs. |

| No. | Description | Reference | Remarks | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 101 | Obverse:– Portrait-head of the king showing the right side of the face. Reverse:– "*Mahārajas Trātāras Menander*"; a certain sign showing a face on the left side. | C. H. I. Plate No. 7 fig. No. 18. | It belongs to Menander. It seems that he had also got two kinds of coins stamped. One kind is illustrated in No. 41 above and the second is given here. The sign is known as "Athene Promachos." | B.C. 182 to 159 |
| 102 | Obverse:– Portrait-head of the king showing the right side of the face. Reverse:– "*Apratihatas Chakras Chatrapatas Rajuvulas*"; the same sign as in No. 101. | C. H. I. Plate No. 7; fig. No. 24. | The coin is already illustrated above (Plate No. I, fig. 7–8). The coin here, however, contains the king's account. So it is given here again to acquaint the reader with the titles and the script of the Kṣatrapas of those times. The title may be compared with those of Indo-parthian emperors. The coin belongs to Kṣatrapa Rājuvul of Mathurā. The same sign as in No. 101 shows that he was under the power of Menander. (vide Vol. III for his account) | B.C. 160 to 159 =2 yrs. |
| 103 | Obverse:– The portrait-head of the king with a military head-dress; showing the right side of the face. | C. H. I. Plate No. 8. fig. No. 42. | It indicates that the kingdom of Liak extended over the Takṣilā religion. His name is found in the pillar-inscriptions of Mathurā; the names on the pillar were inscribed at the time of founding the Lion-pillar. He has been thus supposed to be the king of Mathurā; however he has never ruled over that region. (vide Vol. III) | B.C. 114 to 78 |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Reverse:– Sign of Takśila showing a heap of things. | | | |
| 104 | Obverse:– *"Rājño Mahā kṣatrapas Ghṣamotik Putra* [ *sa* ] *Chasṭhaṇ"; in* Greek. Reverse:– Chaitya with three arches, with moon above it; moon on the left side and the sun on the right side; words in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts. | C. A.R. Plate No. 10. fig. J. B. Silver coin. | Thus Chasthaṇ was the son of Ksatrapa Ghṣamotik. The Moon and the Sun indicate the desire to be as permanent as those heavenly bodies. The Chaitya is a Jaina sign showing the three peaks of the mount Meru. (Pp. 47) The situation of Meru has been fixed up near the city of Murve in Asian Turkey, showing its origin in this way. The curved line below the Chaitya indicates River Ksiprā in Avanti. ( Pp. 46 and onwards for the explanation of signs). Thus Chasṭhaṇ was under the power of the ruler of Avanti. | A.D. 142 to 152 |
| 105 | Obverse:– Portrait-head of the king showing right side of the face; some faint words in Greek; the date is given behind the portrait-head. | C.A. R. Plate No. 13. fig. No.479 Silver coin. | The name is plainly given. He was a Mahākṣatrapa. All other signs are the same as in No 104 indicating that he was connected with the Chasṭhaṇa dynasty, but the date shows that he belonged to another dynasty. We cannot say what Era the date represents. In C. A. R. pp. 124, it is stated, "Date of reign between the years 158 and 161". The writer, cal- | 261 and 262 A.D. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Reverse:– Chaitya with three arches, with the moon above it; the sun and the moon on either side and a curved line below. The words are:—" *Rājño-Mahākṣtrapas Iśvaradattasa Prathamavarṣe.* | | culating the Era to have begun in 78 A. D., says that 158 to 161= 236 to 239 A.D. The Era, however, began in 103 A. D.; the dates 158 to 161 will be equal to 261 to 264 A. D. It has been found that he got coins struck " in the first year ", " in the second year " and so on of his reign. | |
| 106 | Obverse:– Portrait-head of the king showing the right side of the face. Reverse:– Chaitya with the moon above; sun & moon; words are:–"*Mahārājendra Dattaputra Parama Vaiśṇava Śri Mahārāja Dharsen*". | C. A.R. Plate No. 18. fig. No.935 Silver coin. | The signs show that he was a Jain. Dharasen was the son of Indradatta. The words "Parama Vaiśṇava", however show that he must have turned to Vedic religion. The signs are the same as in the coin of Iśvaradatta, showing him to be a descendant of that dynasty. He has, therefore, described himself as Traikūṭak in the rock–inscription which he got inscribed. ( vide Vol. III ) His date can be calculated to 456 A. D. | A,D. 456 |



# Chapter IV

## Maurya dynasty

*Synopsis:—The duration of the dynasty—A chronological and correct list of the names of kings after a proper consideration of the various names given by various writers—The number of kings in the dynasty and the duration of the reign of each—*

*Some believe that the Mauryas were Śudras and some believe that they were Kṣatriyas—Discussion on the arguments advanced by both and then their true origin—Possible relation between Chandragupta and Ninth Nand—Duration of the reign of Chandragupta (the time when he assumed the title of the " king ", and the time when he assumed the title of the " emperor ")—The duration of his life—Various theories about the duration of his life—Refutation of the theory that Chandragupta and Sandrecotus are the same individual—Perversion of ancient Indian history due to this theory.*

The founder of this dynasty is Chandragupta about whose caste[1], there is a difference of opinion. Before he defeated Mahānand and established his power in Magadh, he had his rule upon a certain territory. In a way, Chandragupta really founded his dynasty from the year in which he began to rule this territory—the year which we have to find out[2]. He established his power over Magadh in 372 B. C., or 155 M. E. At this time Avanti was under the power of Magadh.

**The duration of the dynasty**

The list of the names of Maurya kings given in Pariśiṣṭhaparva-a Jaina book-refers to only those of them who had paramountcy over Avanti[3]. Their duration was only 168 years[4]; from M. E 155+168=323 or 372 B. C. to 204. The writers of Purāṇas have fixed up this time to be only 137 years, taking which for granted a certain writer[5] has constructed the following chronological list:—

(1) Chandragupta B. C. 322 to 298=24
|
(2) Bindusār „ 298 to 272=26
|
(3) Aśokavardhan „ 272 to 232=40
|
(4) Kuṇāl (Suyaś) „ 232 to 224=8
|
(5) Daśarath ( Bandhupālit[6] ) B. C. 224 to 216=8 — (6) Samprati (Indrapālit) B. C. 216 to 207=9
|
(7) Śāliśūka[6] „ 207 to 206=1
|
(8) Devavarmā „ 206 to 199=7
|
(9) Śatadhanuṣa 199 to 191=8 — (10) Bṛhadrath „ 191 to 184=7

(1) "Caste" here means one of the four "Classes". It is not used in its modern sense.

(2) Vide his account for my final opinion about this.

(3) Vol. I. pp. 199. f. n. no. 39.

(4) Vol. I. pp. 202.

(5) "Maurya Sāmrājya Kā Itihās" pp. 161.

(6) See further.

When Mahānanda's daughter and Chandragupta met for the first time, the eight spokes of her chariot were almost broken[7], and it was predicted that Chandragupta's line will have eight kings. The Purāṇas seem to have tried to adjust this prediction with their time-limit. These Purāṇas differ widely from the Jaina books in this matter. According to the latter, Chandragupta established his power in Magadh in 372 B. C. or 155 M. E. and not in 322 B. C. as the Purāṇas say. The Jaina books, being supported by other facts and figures, are more correct in this matter than the Purāṇas. The duration of Chandragupta's reign according to Jaina books is 15 years, while, according to the Purānas it is 24 years. This interval of 9 years can be explained if we take that the Purāṇas must have included the years of his rule over the small territory also. Thus the duration of the Maurya dynasty was 168+9=177 years, M. E. 146 to 323 or 381 B. C. 204[8].

**Their number**

The first four kings are famous in history, and their time is discussed in their accounts. So we shall try to fix up the time of the remaining five[9] below.

The names of the first four are:—(1) Chandragupta, (2) Bindusār, (3) Aśokavardhan[10], (4) Priyadarśin. The last died in M. E. 290=237 B. C. The dynasty ended in 323 M. E. or 204 B. C.

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(7) See further.

(8) I do not see my way to arrive at any compromise by my calculations and the calculation of the Purānas. In the same way, the Purāṇas have fixed up 122 years for the Śuṅga dynasty, while the Jaina books have fixed up 90 Even if we may try to adjust this difference by saying that these 22 years were the time during which Puṣyamitra was the commander of the forces of Magadh, yet the end of the Maurya dynasty would be 184-22=162 B. C. while according to Jaina books it is 203 B. C.

There is only one way in which this difference can be made up. Some of the ancient copy-writers of these manuscripts must have written 137, while the real number must have been 177, either by slip of pen or by not being able to decipher the manuscript properly.

(9) 5, if we take up the total number to be 9, and 6 if we take it up to be 10.

(10) I have proved elsewhere that Aśoka and Priyadarśin were different individuals.

This means that the remaining five kings ruled for the intervening 33 years only. Pusyamitra killed the last king Bṛhadrath and founded his own dynasty[11]. Thus we gather the name of the last king[12]. The name of Prīyadarśin's son and successor was Vṛṣseṇ or Ṛsabhaseṇ[13]. Thus we fix up the name of the fifth king. For the sixth, seventh and eighth, we shall have to fix their names depending upon various ancient books. The most accepted names are Bṛhaspatimitra, Devvarman, Puṣyadharmā. Their order is not of much importance. If we accept them as 10, we have to make it up by saying that the last king was preceded by his brother Śatadhanvā[14].

Below is given the least, then, which, I hope, will be agreeable and acceptable to all:—

| | M. E. | to | M. E.[15]. | B. C. | to | B. C.=years | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Chandragupta— king | 146 | ,, | 154 | 381 | ,, | 373=9 | 24* |
| Emperor | 154 | ,, | 169 | 373 | ,, | 358=15 | |
| (2) Bīndusār | —169 | ,, | 197 | 358 | ,, | 330=28* | |
| (3) Aśokavardhan | —197 | ,, | 207 | 330 | ,, | 289=41* | |
| (4) Priyadarśin[16] | —237 | ,, | 291 | 289 | ,, | 235=54* | |
| (5) Vṛṣabhsen[17] | —291 | ,, | 300 | 235 | ,, | 226=9 | |

(11) The Purāṇas have fixed up that the Śuṅga dynasty began from the year in which Puṣyamitra became the commander. Taking this into consideration, Bṛhadrath cannot be taken as the last king. (See further).

(12) See f. n. no. 11 above.

(13) Vide his account in vol. III.

(14) See the chronological list above.

(15) The New Year's day in M. E. is generally in October. Hence, when we refer the same event to these two eras, in the M. E. the number of the year will be the current one, which in the Christian Era, the number will be that of the past year.

(16) The names of the last five kings are a matter of much discussion; so is the question of the order of their succession; I have not yet arrived at quite definite conclusions. I intend to devote a special chapter to the subject of "The causes of the decline of the Mauryan Empire" at the end of this vol. where I will discuss this in details.

(17) Cf. f. n. no. 11 above. The name of Bṛhaspatimitra as no. 9 is practically useless. It has been introduced here in order to make it agree

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6) Devvarmã | —300 | „ | 307 | 226 | „ | 219=7 |
| (7) Puṣyadharmã | —307 | „ | 314 | 219 | „ | 213=7 |
| (8) Śatadhanvã | —314 | „ | 321 | 213 | „ | 206=7 |
| (9) Bṛhaspatimitra[18] | 321 | „ | 323 | 206 | „ | 204=2 |
| | | | | | | years 177 |

* The durations of the reigns of these kings are 23½, 27½, 40½ and 53½ years respectively, and so the sum is 177 and not 179.

## Maurya dynasty

Some writers are of the opinion that the Maurya dynasty derived its name from "Murã" which was the name of the mother of Chandragupta. This does not seem plausible to me, not only because it is grammatically incorrect, but because the dynastic name of a king is seldom derived from his mother's side[19]. The other and the more probable theory is that Maurya[20] was the name of the

**Caste**

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with what is given in the Hãthīgumfã inscription—that Puṣyamitra Śunga was a contemporary of Khãrvel, who had defeated Bṛhaspatimitra of Magadh. But this all is not possible. (For details, vide the account of Khãrvel). So it is proper to drop the name altogether. So the king who was killed by Puṣyamitra was the son of Priyadarsin, Ṛṣabhasen by name. Thus the number will be reduced to nine, which will be in agreement with the prophecy utterred at the time of breaking down of eight spokes of the chariot of the queen of Chandragupta and the daughter of Mahãnand. If we get an evidence to prove that Puṣyamitra killed Bṛhaspatimitra, we shall have to change our conclusions. But it is not possible.

(18) In the chapter on "The causes of the decline of the Mauryan Empire", at the end of this vol., I have proved that Bṛhaspatimitra was either a brother or a son or a close relative of Subhãgasen. There has been no Maurya king named Bṛhaspatimitra. The name Bṛhaspatimitra of the Hãthīgumfã inscription of Khãrvel, is confused with Puṣyamitra and then his time is fixed up. But the very foundation is ill-founded. (Vide the accounts of Khãrvel and Puṣyamitra)

(19) A king may personally make himself known by affixing to his name the family name of his mother, as is the case with many Andhra kings. But even Andhras have not fixed up their dynastic name on the family name of a mother.

(20) C. A. I. Plate XII, there are coins of Chandragupta and [illegible] (Nos 71, 72 in this book). They bear the Horse with the Crescent. Had they not been kṣatriyas there would have been no Horse on the [illegible]. The Horse is almost the invariable concommitant of a kṣatriya.

Kṣatriya clan of that name which was an off-shoot of the Saṃvrijji family,[21] who emigrated to various places from Videha (Mithilā), the capital of Cheṭak, who is said to have belonged to that family in Mahāparinivvāṇsūtta.

**Its origin**

One theory about the origin of the Mauryas is as follows—Murā[22] the mother of Chandragupta was the daughter of a bird-tamer (peocock tamer) of the Ninth Nand; his father's name is unknown[23]. When Chandragupta's mother was pregnant, she felt an intense desire to swallow the moon. As none could fulfill her

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(21) J. N. I. Pp. 132:—"The Mahāvaṃśa called him a scion of the Moriya clan. In the Divyāvadān, Bindusār, the son of Chandragupta, claims to be a Kṣatriya Mūrdhabhiṣikta. In the same work, Aśoka, the son of Bindusār calls himself a Kṣatriya. (Cowell & Neil, Divyāvadan pp. 370).

Vide the account of Priyadarśin for details about the conquest of Khoṭān.

Dr. Roy Chaudhari observes that Chandragupta belonged to a kṣatriya community-viz. The Moriya (Maurya) clan. The Maukharī kṣatriyas who conquered and ruled Gwālıar, and in which line there were kings like Yaśovardhan, Āma, (Chakrāyuddha), were possibly connected with the Maurya clan. Cf. Vol. I. Pp. 98 details about Āmbhi of the Punjāb.

(22) The play Mudrārākṣas tells us that Mahāpadma had two queens: (1) Ratnāvatī and (2) Murā. The second was a Śūdra, and her son was Chandragupta. But, really speaking, Mahāpadma, and not Chandragupta, was his son (vide his account) by Murā. Now Mahānand ruled for 43 years; how can Chandragupta be the son of Mahāpadma.

In the Vedic Purāṇas the names Mahāpadma and Mahānand are so much confused that all these difficulties are the result (see f. n. no. 23 below).

If we substitute Mahānanda for Mahāpadma in the above play, Chandragupta will have to be taken as the son of Mahānanda. But in Vol. I. Pp. 340, we have proved that there could not have existed the relation of father and son between them.

(23) His father's name was Mohapāl. (Jaina Tattvādarsa Pp. 315. Vidyāprasāraka Varga). Had he been the son of Mahānand, the dynastic name of Mahānand would have been continued. (See further).

His father's name may more probably and more significantly have been Morapāl, which means, "tamer of peacocks." In those times kings were specially fond of the flesh of peacocks. He may not have been a kṣatriya. It

desire, she began to become weaker and weaker. At last, a brahman named Chāṇakya fulfilled her desire on condition that if she gave birth to a son, and if that son was willing, he should be given over to him after he attained his majority. Fortunately a son was born, and he was given the significant name of Chandragupta[24].

Some writers advanced the theory that Chandragupta was of a low i. e. Śūdra family, because his mother was the daughter of a bird-tamer[25], and because his father was unknown. Then they go further and say that as the Ninth Nand himself was a Śūdra he had to marry this Murā, who gave birth to Chandragupta[26]. Thus Chandragupta was the son of Murā. When, however, the reader, sees that the Mauryas were kṣatriyas, all these theories will have no appeal for him.

My reasons for not believing Chandragupta to be the son[27] of the Ninth Nand[28] are as under:—

(1) When Chandragupta entered Pātliputra, after having

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is possible that he may have had a beautiful daughter named Murā, whom Mahānand might have married, and who might have given birth to Chandragupta. If we take this theory for granted he is rightly called "Vṛṣala" in Mudrārākṣasa. Even this theory has no foundation in fact.

C. H. I. Pp. 70.—"Chandragupta is represented as a lowborn connection of family of Nand."

(24) One in whose case the moon was concealed.

(25) Kings of those times had a special liking for the flesh of peacocks. See the rock inscription of Priyadarśin.

(26) I. C. I. Intro. Pp. 34. f. n. no. 1. and on pp. 29, f. n. no. 3. Prof. Hultzsch says:—"According to Mudrārākṣas, Chandragupta was a Vṛṣala i. e. member of the Śudra caste."

The same word has been used in connection with Śrīmukh of Āndhra. Vide his account in Vol. IV, where the words are "Vṛṣalobali."

(27) Vol. I. Pp 340, M. S. K. I. Pp 94 —"Chandragupta was the grandson of the last Nand (Dhundhirāj); Chandragupta was the son of Nand (Śrīdhar)", according to Kathāsarit-sāgar he was the son of Mahāpadma. M. S. K. I. Pp. 560.—"I believe that Chandra was another name for Sampati."

(28) See f. n. no. 27 and 19 above.

defeated the Ninth Nand, Nanda's daughter fell in love with him and married him[29]. This could not have been possible if Chandragupta had been the son of Nand, even by a different wife from the one who was the mother of the girl[30].

**His relation with Nand the Ninth**

(2) The dynastic name of the Nanda king is Nāg and that of Chandragupta is Maurya.

(3) Nand's family name is Malla[31], which Chandragupta's is Maurya. Both are branches of the Samvrijji stock, a high kṣatriya clan[32]; we will prove this in the account of Priyadarśin.

(4) That Chandragupta married Nand's daughter proves they belong to two different branches of the Samvrijji stock, among which it was the rule that the girls could not be given in marriage out the clan, and that children of the same branch could not marry one another[33].

Nowhere are found the dates of the beginning and the end of the rule of Chandragupta. I have stated below theories advanced by various ancient literatures:—

(1) The Brahamin Purāṇas[34] state;—" Chandragupta became king emperor of Magadh one hundred years after the accession of Nand I to the throne." We have proved in vol. I that Nand I came to the throne in 472 B. C. or M. E. 55. We have to remember one thing here; the Purāṇas say that he became the emperor of Magadh in 472–100=372 B. C. But we know that

**The beginning of his rule**

(29) See further.

(30) Children of the same father cannot intermarry. Children of the same mother can, if they are born by different fathers, (though rarely).

(31) The Nandas were cousins of Śreṇik, whom we have proved to have belonged to the Malla clan.

(32) See coins nos. 49, 50 and comments. R. W. W. Vol. II. Pp. 13.

(33) Siddhārth, the father of Mahāvīr, belonged to the Gñāt clan and Cheṭak belonged to the Lichchhavī clan. Both are the branches of the Samvrijji stock. So Cheṭak's sister Triśalā was given in marriage to Siddhārth.

(34) I. A. Vol. 32, p, 231:—The Brahmin's Purāṇas state that, Chandragupta ascended the throne of Magadh 100 years after the accession of Nand I."

he had already established his rule over a small territory[35] 9 years before he achieved this victory with the help of Chāṇakya and Vakragrīva. So B. C. 372 is the year in which he became the emperor of Magadh[36].

(2) The Simhālese Chronicles say that Chandragupta became king in Buddha Era 162[37-38]; we have proved in chapter I, that the Simhālese calculate the beginning of this era from 543 B. C. Hence 162 B. E. means 381 B. C., which is the year in which Chandragupta established his power over a small territory.

(3) According to the calculations of General Cunningham[39] B. E. 162 is not equal to 316 B. C. but equal to 382 B. C.; i. e. there is an error of 66 years[40]. His calculations agree with mine[41].

(4) The Maurya dynasty was established in 162 B. E.[42], from the year whence Chandragupta assumed the title of king over a small territory[43].

(5) According to Jaina Literature[44] Chandragupta exterminated the Nandas 155 years after the death of Mahāvīr, i. e. 527–155= 372 B. C.

(6) We can deduce from the inscription of Śravaṇ Belgol

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(35) He became emperor of Magadh nearly nine years after he established his power as a chieftain.

(36) The reader will see by and by that this is the correct date.

(37) The actual word in the book is "accession," meaning his becoming a chieftain. Read further.

(38) I. A. Vol. 37, p. 345.

(39) I. C I. C. Preface. Pp. 4.

(40) Read argument No. 2. above.

(41) A. B. 162=381 B. C. Thus Buddha Era. began in 381+162=543 B. C.

(42) I. A. Vol. 32. p. 227.

(43) Read arguments No. 2 and 5.

(41) Pariśiṣṭa Parva, Canto VIII, 339, Vol. I. p. 200; C H. I. p. 156: (Hemachandra states that at this time 155 years had elapsed since the death of Mahāvīr) I. H. quarterly, Vol V. Sep 1929, p. 400 "Evam Ca Śrī Mahāvīr mukter varṣa śate gate pañcapañcāśad-adhike Chandragupto bhavan nṛpaḥ."

that the name of Chandragupta's[45] religious preceptor was Bhadrabāhu. (Both according to the Digambar as well as Śvetāmbar sects). His priesthood dates from A. M. 156 to A. M. 170 (B. C. 371 to 357)[46]. This means that Chandragupta must have been on the throne of Magadh during the same period[47]. Thus Chandragupta could not have been the same as Sandracottus who is said to have been on the throne of Magadh when Alexander invaded India in 327 B. C.

(7) We have stated in Vol. I. that Nand IX had a prime-minister named Śakdāl who had two sons named Sthūlibhadra and Śrīyak. Śakdāl had caused his son Śrīyak to kill him as he was accused of treason by the king. This took place in about 377 B. C. Then Sthūlibhadra was offered prime-ministership by the king. But he refused the offer, and entered Jaina priesthood under Bhadrabāhu[48], at the age of thirty[49].

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(45) There was another Bhadrabāhu in the Digambar sect and the name of his disciple was Guptichandra. A confusion has arisen due to this similarity of names—which we shall discuss later on.

(46) He was the sixth in the line of disciples of Mahāvīr and is famous as Śrutakevalı in both the sects. His priesthood lasted from A. M. 156 to 170=14 years.

(47) We have stated in vol. I. that Avanti was under the Magadh Empire since the time of Nand I. When the Maurya rule began Avanti was still under the suzerainty of Magadh. One of the many changes instituted by Chāṇakya and Chandragupta was to appoint a member of the royal family as the governor of the provice. His son Bindusār might have been intended for this post: but the appointment might have been postponed due to his delicate health. Chandragupta got places built there and visited the city frequently. During one of his stays he had those sixteen dreams which he recounted to his preceptor Bhadrabāhu who happened to be in Avanti at that time.

Muniśri Kalyāṇvijayji is of the opinion that Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta were not contemporaries. Chandragupta's date, according to him, is A. M. 210.

(48) This took place in A. M. 150=B. C. 377. This means that Sthūlībhadra was born in A. M. 120.

(49) Studies of Jainism in South India. pt. II, p. 3·—"Brahatkathā kosh by Harisena dtd. A. V. 931. says that Bhadrabāhu had the king Chandra

Now this Bhadrabāhu, as we have stated above, was a preceptor of Chandragupta. Thus we gather that Śakdāl, Sthūlibhadra, Bhadrabāhu, Nand IX and Chandragupta were contemporaries. Hence Chandragupta must have been on the throne before 350 B. C. but not after that.

(8) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. Pp. 104 : f. n. no. 137[50]:—"The Śvetāmbaras count 110 or 109 years, between the accession of Chandragupta and death of Suhastin. (Vide Pariśiṣṭhaparva by H. Jacobi pref. 95). The date for Suhastin, who was a contemporary of Samprati is given by the Śvetāmbaras as 265 A. M."

Now Suhastin was a preceptor of Samprati. If he died in 265[51] then Chandragupta ascended the throne in 265–110=155 A.M.

The data given above lead us to the following conclusions;—

(1) Chandragupta established himself as a chieftain in 381 B.C.

(2) Chandragupta came to the throne of Magadh in 372 B. C.

The Buddhist books and the Purāṇas agree in stating that Chandragupta's reign lasted for 24 years.[52–53]. The Jaina books,

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gupta as his disciple. So also Bhadrabāhu Charita by Ratnanandi of about 1450 A. V., repeated in Rajavali katha by Devchanda about 1800 )."

I. A. Vol. 21; p. 156–60. Dr. Fleet has tried to prove that Bhadrabāhu the preceptor of Chandragupta was some other individual than Bhadrabāhu who is famous as Śrutakevli."

According to the Digambaras, their sect was established by Guptichandra or Kundkundāchārya whose date has been fixed as 609 A. M. or 82–3 A. D. The name of his preceptor's preceptor was Bhadrabāhu whose date might then be fixed up as 31 B. C., in order to agree with 82–3 A. D. of Gupti Chandra. Then this Guptichandra has been confused with Chandragupta, and his preceptor's preceptor (not the preceptor) with Bhadrabāhu famous as Śrutakevli. Really speaking, however, these four are different individuals with different dates. Dr. Fleet has erred due to the similarity in names.

(Read further, see f. n. 45 ).

(50) J. O. B. R. S. vol. I. p. 104; f. n. 137.

(51) Some Śvetāmbar writers state that Suhastin died in [illegible]30 A. M. while others and all Digambar writers state that he died in 265 A. M.; the latter theory seems to me more plausible of the two.

(52) I. C. C. Preface p. 32. "Dipwamśa, Mahāvamśa and Samant Pasādika by Buddhaghosh all allot 24 to Chandragupta and 25 years to [illegible]."

(53) Āsoka p. 206, f. n. 1. "Turmore and Wijesinha, both [illegible] 34 years' reign. The figure seems to be a copyist's blunder."

on the other hand, declare that he ruled for 16 years. This divergence can be easily explained. The Buddhist books[54] state that Chandragupta ascended the throne in A. B. 162, which, according to the Simhālese method of calculation, comes to 381 B. C. and which according to the other method, comes to 358 B. C; (543 B. C. being the date of Buddha's Nirvāṇa and 520 B. C. of his death). Now 381 B. C. is the date when Chandragupta began his rule over a small territory, while 358 B. C. is the date when his reign ended. The exact words in the book are;—"Chandragupta flourished" which means that Chandragupta was the reigning monarch in 358 B. C.[55] and might have, shortly after, abdicated his throne. Thus the Buddhist books and the Purāṇas calculate 24 years, in which period are included the first eight years of his chieftaincy, while the Jaina books[56] state only 16 years i. e. the exact period for which he was on the throne of Magadh[57].

**The duration of his reign and his life**

We now turn to the date of his death. A certain writer says;—[58] "Chandragupta, grand father of Aśoka, and first paramount sovereign of India, according to Jaina tradition, abdicated the throne in 297 B. C. (?), became a Jaina ascetic in Śravaṇa Belagol in Mysore." Another writer says:—[59] "That Chandragupta died 12 years after doing penance on the Chandragiri hill, may be taken as a historical fact." The same writer[60] states on the

(54) I. A. V. 32, p. 231; f. n. 34, 37, 88 above.

(55) I have sometimes stated 358 B. C. and sometimes 357 B. C. as the date of Chandragupta's abdication. In fact his reign lasted for 23 years and 6 to 8 months including his period of chieftaincy and for 15 years and 4 months, omitting it. When we calculate backwards, it comes to some month in 357 B. C., or nearly 358 B. C.; Cf. f. n. 72 bellow.

(56) The author of Pariśiṣṭaparva has stated only 16 years, because he has stated in his book names and periods of those kings whose power extended over Avanti.

(57) We have proved this just above; Cf. f. n. 72 below and 56 above.

(58) A certain writer.

(59) J. S. I. Vol. I. p. 21.

(60) Ibid. Vol I. p. 22.

authority of Epi. Indi. VIII p. 171 (by Dr. Fleet) and of Ind. Ant. XXI p. 156. "This is strongly supported by eminent scholars like Mr. Thomas and Lewis Rice. ( That Chandragupta was a Jain ). He abdicated his throne in favour of his son; very soon the Śrutakevali[61] died." It is also stated in Epigraphica Kerṇāṭicā[62] "Tradition says that he lived for 12 years after the decease of Bhadrabāhu. His death then occurred when he was about sixty two years of age, which seems more natural." Mr. Vincent-Smith says:—[63] "In the second edition I rejected the theory of Chandragupta's abdication of the throne; but now at the time of the compilation of this third edition, I am disposed to believe that the tradition probably is true in its main outline, and that Chandragupta really abdicated and became a Jaina ascetic. Epigraphical support (Mr. Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg, from the Inscription ) is far from conclusive. Nevertheless my present impresston is that the tradition has a solid foundation on foot " The legend as described in a book is, that Bhadrabāhu uttered a strange prophecy in reply to the narration of his dreams by Chandragupta i. e. famine for 12 years. "As a result of this prophecy, a large body of Jains (numbering about 12000) came to south, where several of them ( including Bhadrabāhu ? ) died by the holy vow of Samlekhanā[64]-fasting to death. Chandragupta who followed the Saṅgh, renouncing everything remained for twelve years at Belagol and finally himself died by the same rite."[65]

Thus we come to the conclusion that after abdicating his throne in 357 B. C., he led the life of a Jaina ascetic for twelve years and died in 345 B. C.[66]

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(61) Ibid Vol. I. p. 20.

(62) I. C, Vol II. p. 41.

(63) E. H. I. p. 146.

(64) J. N. I. P. 135.

(65) i. e. he abdicated his throne and renounced the world.

(66) f. n. 73 below.

A writer in the Annual number of "The Bombay Samāchār" for 1923, has stated:–"Chandragupta abdicated his throne at the age of fifty and became a Jaina monk. Chandragupta was with Bhadrabāhu when the latter gave up his life by fasting to death. Chandragupta died in the same way twelve years later." This means that Chandragupta died at the age of 62.

**The duration of his life**

There are several points which falsify this theory:—

(1) Chandragupta was a Jain[67]. After he came to the throne of Magadh, he got a palace built in Avanti and used to stay there for some period every year[68]. Once he had several dreams[69]; the explanation of which he sought from Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu[70]. After deep meditation, the preceptor told him that there would be famine lasting for 12 years over Magadh, and that the supreme knowledge would not henceforth be in existence[71]. He advised all around him to migrate towards the south, and he himself accompanied them with Chandragupta, who had joined him as his disciple[72]. Near Mt. Chandragiri near Śravaṇa Belgol in Mysore Bhadrabāhu gave up his life in about A. M. 170 or 357 B. C.

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(67) R. A. S. B. Vol. VII. Pp. 411:—"He was Jain".

(68) Read further; Vol. I. Pp. 177.

(69) There were 16 dreams according to the Digambara books.

(70) A Śrutakevli is one whose study is deep enough to make him a Kevali, but on whom the actual prescience is not bestowed.

(71) Line 17 of Hāthīgumfā inscription is eloquent about the truth of the prophecy.

(72) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. Pp. 100:—"The Jaina chronology places the accession of Chandragupta in Nov. 326–25". We have already proved that this date is incorrect.

Epi. Kar. II. Pp. 37–38:—"Bhadrabāhu sent all his disciples except Chandragupta to Cholā and Pāṇḍiyā countries", where, consequently, Jainism began to spread.

Jaina monks do not travel during the rainy season. Bhadrabāhu reached Chandragiri on the eve of the monsoons ( June ). He must have taken at least two months to travel on foot from Avanti to Chandragiri, i. e. He started

If Bhadrabāhu died in 357 B. C., Chandragupta must have entered the Jaina holy orders in 358 B. C. On the authority of Epigraphica Karṇātikā[73] we can say that he lived the life of an ascetic for 12 years. This means that he died in 358–12=346 B. C.= A. M. 182, Thus he must have been learn in 119 A. M. i. e. only seven years after Nand IX ascended the throne in 112 A. M.

(2) Chāṇakya was insulted by the third son of Nand IX, as a result of which he left Pātliputra. Chandragupta, as we have seen, was born only some months after this took place. This means that Chāṇakya left Patliputra in about 118 A.M. or B.C. 408.

(3) Nand IX had brought the famous learned trio from the Punjab, after he had invaded and conqured it. They were entrusted with educational propaganda in Magadh, and they rose to eminence by their wealth of knowledge. Then took place the incident stated above. If we assign the date 118 A. M. to the incident, we have to face the unpleasant improbability of the occurrence of all these events within the short span of six years (112 to 118) Now Nand IX directed his attention towards conquering foreign countries, several years after he came to the throne, because he had first to consolidate the empire which became his by virtue of his accession, and in which there had prevailed misrule during the rule of his predecessors[74]. These things do not lead us to accepting A. M. 119 as the date of the birth of Chandragupta.

(4) The third and the youngest prince of Nand IX had insulted Chāṇakya. When the incident took place, the eldest prince

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from Avanti in April 357 B. C., when Chandragupta entered the Jaina holy order under him.

Counting back 23 years and six months, the date of his accession to the throne comes to Nov. 391 B. C. As the period of his emperorship was 15 years and 4 months, he came to the throne of Magadh in January, 370 B. C.

(73) Pp. 155. above, Studies in Jainism in S. India. Pp 23 —"If he (Chandragupta) had died in the battlefield or in the prime of life, the fact would have been mentioned." This proves that he had entered the Jaina holy orders.

(74) This took place in A. M. 122=B. C. 405; i. e. several years after this incident of insult took place.

was 14 years old, the middle, 10 years, and the youngest 7 years[75]. Nand IX was not married till he came to the throne, and was an ordinary prince. An astrologer, knowing his bright future, offerred him his daughter in marriage in A. M. 112. This means that the king could not have three sons, aged 14, 10 and 7 respective by 119 A: M.

(5) It is stated that when Chandragupta came to age (i. e. became 14 years old)[76] Chāṇakya took charge of him and established him as a chieftain over a small territory. This must have taken place in 381 B. C. or 146 A. M.[77]. Counting back we come to 132 A. M. as date of his birth.

(6) Chāṇakya is stated to have died at the age of 82[78]. The date of his death is B. C. 344=A. M. 183 or the mid-years of Bindusar's reign[79]. Thus he must have been born in 100 A. M. If the incident of his insult took place in 119 A. M., we have to accept the improbable hypothesis that he was only nineteen when he had achieved renown throughout the Magadha empire and that when Nand IX recognised his brilliance and brought him to Magadh, he must have accompanied him as a trolling imp of five.

These six points are convincing enough to prove that the date of Chandragupta's birth was not 119 A. M.—the date with which most events of his life agree admirably.[80] This means that he died at the age of 52 and not of 62.

The principal dates in his life are:—

(1) Birth;—A. M. 130=B. C. 397.

(2) Death:—A. M. 182=B. C. 345 at the age of 52.

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(75) Vol. I. Pp. 357.

(76) Cf. the examples of Priyadarśin, of Khārvel, of Mahāvīr, and of many others.

(77) See f. n. no. 72 above.

(78) Vide the account of Bindusār.

(79) Vide his account.

(80) Vide the account of Bindusār, in which the duration of Chāṇākya's life is discussed.

(3) He abdicated his throne at the age of 40, and led the life of an escetic for next 12 years.

(4) His reign lasted for 24 years in the aggregate, while his rule over Magadh extenled over a period of 16 years.

(5) He became the emperor of Magadh at the age of 25.

**Were Chandragupta and Sandrecottus the name of the same person**

The Greek emperor, Alexander the Great, invaded India in 327 B. C. The Indian emperor who was the most powerful at that time is known as Sandrecottus in the Greek history. Western scholars have identified this Sandrecottus with Chandragupta, and have built the edifice of subsequent Indian history on this hypothesis. The following points will convince the reader that the hypothesis is wrong:—

(1) We have proved just above, that Chandragupta died in 345 B.C.; nearly twenty years before Alexander's invasion over India.

(2) A writer says—[81] "Between the fall of the Nandis and the accession of Chandragupta, the Jaina works are absolutely silent on Alexander's invasion." Here is a negative proof[82] to the effect that the Greek emperor and Chandragupta were not contemporaries.

(3) Another writer says—[83] "No mention is made of the invasion of Alexander in the Buddhist books as well as in the Purāṇas." Here is proof positive. Sandrecottus really was Aśoka.

Thus the Jaina, the Buddhist and the Purāṇik books agree in this matter.

Sandrecottus was the name given to the sovereign of eastern India at the time of the invasion. Alexander died in 323 B, C., leaving no heir behind him. His most powerful general Seleucus Necator, assumed the reins of the government. Within eighteen years he invaded India twelve times, and was unsuccessful every time. At last in 304 B. C. he had to make a treaty with

(81) I. H. Qu. Vol. V. 1929, pp. 7.

(82) See further for more "Negative evidences."

(83) M. S. K. I. Vol. XXXV.

Sandrecottus who was in the twenty-sixth year of his reign at that time[84]. One of the treaty terms was that Seleucus had to give his daughter in marriage to Sandrecottus[85]. Together with his daughter, Seleucus sent Megasthenes as his ambassador at the court of the Indian emperor. He stayed in India for 14 years, B. C. 302 to 288 (p. 4. Mag. Hind.) Megasthenes wrote a diary[86] of his experiences in India. A subsequent writer-Strabo-took notes of his diary. ( He had, curiously enough, never seen the actual diary[87]). Five centuries later, Ptolemy wrote a book based on this circumstancial evidence[88]. Western scholars have taken this book to be an authoritative account, and have translated it into various languages. It is necessary to quote the full text of the English translation; it will be given in the account of Aśoka, because it is connected with him.

(4) Sir Cunningham says—[89] "The happy identification of Chandragupta with the Sandrecottus of the Greeks by Sir William James[90] depends fully as much upon the similarity of their personal histories as upon positive identity of their names." Sir Cunningham has not stated events which would show their lives to be similar. (We shall discuss this point in details in the account of Aśoka). As to the similarity of their names, the two names might be similar either in their meanings or in their pronunciations. As to the meaning, the Greek dictionary has no room for Sandarecottus or for Sandracyptus. If those words may be taken as

(84) This means that he came to the throne of Magadh in 330 B. C.

(85) Other terms of the treaty will be stated in the account of Aśoka.

(86) The original manuscript is not found, but only the Greek accounts of it.

(87) C. H. I. Pp. 191:—"The work of Megasthenes, written during the life time of Sandrecottus is lost."

(88) The reader will thus see that Ptolemy's account is not based on first-hand evidence. Other discrepancies in the account will be stated later on.

(89) See his "Bhilsa Topes", pp. 75.

(90) Chronology by Mrs. Duff. Pp. 1:—"To Sir William James we owe the identification of Sandrokoptos of the Greek writers with Chandragupta whose date is B. C, 315". She has, however, not stated on what grounds the identification was based by Sir William James.

compounds-(Sandras+cottus or Sandrus+Cyptus), the Greek dictionary has place only for "Cottus," which means "cerebellum"! Several experts were consulted on the point but they could not throw any light upon it. As to similarity in pronunciation, there is nothing much to encourage us. A scholar says:—[91] "Sandrecottus may be the Greek pronunciation for "Chandragupta," which means, "a descendant of Chandragupta." Again a negative evidence against the identity of Chandragupta and Sandrecottus.

(5) Mr. Vincent Smith:—[92] "When Alexander stopped at the Hyphasis he was informed by a native chieftain that the king of the Gangaridæ and Prasii nations, on the banks of the Ganges was named, as nearly as Greeks could catch the unfamiliar sounds, Xandrames or Agrammes.[93] In as much as the capital of the Prasii nation undoubtedly was Pāṭliputra, the reports made to Alexander, can have referred only to the king of Magadh, who must have been one of the Nandas, mentioned in a native tradition.[94] The reigning king was alleged to be[95] extremely unpopular[96] owing to his wickedness and base origin. He was, it is said[97] the son of a barber,[98] who having become the paramour of the queen of the last legitimate sovereign, contrived the king's death and under pretence of acting as guardian to his

(91) Mr. Hirālāl Amṛtlāl Shāh, B. A., a learned, retiring and wealthy student of such problems.

(92) E. H. I. 3rd. ed. pp. 40.

(93) The reader will see that no mention is made of Sandrecottus in the passage.

(94) The writer does not say on what grounds he says that Nand IX ruled Magadh at the time of the invasion.

(95) Merely "alleged", not definitely.

(96) What were the reasons of his being "extremely unpopular"? This description does not fit with Nand IX, but with Bindusār, during the last years of his rule.

(97) The writer merely says:—"It is said" i. e. he is not certain about it.

(98) The original does not contain any statement which can be translated to this effect. What reason have we to identify "Xandrames" in the original with Nand IX?

sons, got them into his power and exterminated the royal family[99]. After their extermination, he begot the son, who was reigning at the time of Alexander's campaign,[100] and who was worthy of his father's condition than his own, was odious and contemptible to his subjects "[101].

The passage will convince the reader that most of the conclusions are based on haphazard evidence and legendary lore. Even if we take the whole account to be true" "Xandrames" cannot reasonably be taken to mean "Sandrecottus" or "Chandragupta."

(6) Sandrecottus married the daughter of Seleucus during the twenty-sixth year of his reign. Chandragupta's rule lasted for twenty-four years according to the opinion of the same writers. We leave it to them to explain this discrepancy.

(7) A certain writer says:-"The account of Nand IX, given by Purāṇa and the Jains is not quite identical with that given by Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius of the monarch, who ruled at Pāṭliputra, when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab. The king was the predecessor of Chandragupta or Sandrecottus of the Greeks."

The writer thus differs from the other scholars in that Sandrecottus was the predecessor of Chandragupta, i. e. Nand IX. How far he is correct is another question, but his theory lends support to our view that Sandrecottus cannot be identified with Chandragupta. The reader, however, will feel convinced that the author's view is not correct.

(8) Megasthenes was ambassador at the court of Sandrecottus. If we identify him with Chandragupta, Megasthenes must have been a contemporary of Chāṇakya, the prime-minister of

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(99) This means that this "son of a barber" killed all the heirs to the throne and usurped the throne.

(1C0) This means that the "son of the barber" was not living at the time of Alexander's campaign. The reader can easily see the inconsistency of identifying Sandrecottus with the "son of the barber" and his "son."

(101) The reader will feel the improbability of the whole account.

Chandragupta. The political and social conditions existing at the time have been described by Chāṇakya in his Arthaśāstra and by Megasthenes in his diary. There must have been some similarity between their accounts which differ widely from each other. Chāṇakya for instance, recognized the existence of only four classes of society and has not even alluded to the caste-system, while Megasthenes says:—[102] " The prosperity of India is divided among the seven castes. "

(9) Another writer[103] has clearly stated that Sandrecottus cannot be identified with Chandragupta, because the latter never went to the Punjab. He says:—" European scholars without sufficient reasons, from a so-called Greek synchronism, as recorded by Justin, Strabo and other Greek authors, who, quoting the fragmentary and somewhat fabulous accounts of Megasthenes record of Sandrecyptus or Sandrecottus, as once visiting Alexander the Great, in his camp and then defeating Seleucus Nicator in about B. C. 310; and expelling the Greeks from the Punjab, which Chandragupta is never proved to have visited. "

These points lead us to the conclusion that Chandragupta cannot be identified with Sandrecottus, because Alexander invaded India nearly thirty years after his death.

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(102) Vide poste Pp. 352 in quotations.

(103) I. A. Vol. 32, pp. 232.—Mr. P. C. Muckerjee, the Director General of Archeology.



# Chapter V

## Chandragupta (contd.)

Synopsis:—*Chāṇakya's birth and the peculiar circumstances that attended it—Historic events in his life—Occasion for composing "Arthaśāstra"—Reasons why Chandragupta has been called "Vṛṣala" in Hindu scriptures—the origin of the the name Kautilya and the events connected with it—Details about the trio of Chāṇakya, Pāṇini and Vararuchi—Subjects comprising "Arthaśāstra; its importance—events attending the birth of Bindusār—Certain phases of the life of Chandragupta—Details about his religion—His devotedness to religion, his initiating a pilgrimage; why he got the lake Sudarśan dug near the holy place—that holy place is known to be "eternal"; yet the changes wrought by Time in it; instances of how quite novel conclusions can be arrived at from it—Scholars have held the opinion, based on the inscription on the lake, that Chandragupta was the first to marry a non-Indian princess; true explanation about it—Chandragupta's contribution to the religion he followed—his intention to change the seat of his capital—His unsuccessful attempts to realize that intention—How his successors fulfilled his desire—Chāṇakya's creed and certain important events—Extent of the territory of Chandragupta—The reason why Chandragupta abdicated the throne—Details about the last phase of his life.*

The names of Chāṇakya and Chandragupta are so closely associated with each other—as were their lives—that no sooner is one of them mentioned than the other springs to memory. Let us first decide the religion Chāṇakya followed.[1]

**Chāṇakya or Kautilya**

Historians hitherto held the opinion that he followed the Vedic religion. Some research-workers have, however, found out that he was a Jain—I agree with them. Had he been a non-Jain, his influence was powerful enough to convert Chandragupta to his religion. Several Jaina books contain referances to support this theory. Several events in the life of Chandragupta lend countenance to it.[2] Chāṇakya's Arthaśāstra itself contains unmistakable allusions to this effect.

Details about his birth are given as follows in a Jaina book.[4]

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(1) Details as to what religion he followed will be given later on.

(2) Read further; details about Sudarśan lake.

(3) Ind. Ant. 1914, Pp. 176, f. n. no. 2 —"Arthaśāstra contains absolutely nothing of sectarian or Jaina influence except perhaps the passage (pp. 55) where Aparājit, Jayant and Vaijayant are spoken of amongst other gods. However, this is in my opinion of no great importance." Whatever his views, Prof. Carpentier admits that the "Arthaśāstra does contain references to Jainism. He has further stated.—"The Tīrthankar mentioned on pp. 199 etc. may denote a Jaina saint, but we must remember that Tīrthīka, Anyatīrthīka is a title given to ascetics of various schools in the Pāli canon." The reader should note that Prof. Carpentier has wrongly interpretted the word Tīrthankar, which is a specific Jaina term, while the words Tīrthīka and "Anya-tīrthīka" mean "pilgrims travelling from one holy place to another."

Vāyupurān V. 37, 324.

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. Pp. 88, (f. n. no. 81) —"Chandragupta was helped by the Araṭṭas and Kautilya; the latter probably and Araṭṭa Brahmin". Araṭṭa means "Arhant", which is also a specific Jaina term.

J. N. I. Pp. 130.—" The Samskṛt play Mudrārākṣas which dramatises the story of Chandragupta's accession, and tells us that Chāṇakya who was the prime agent in the revolution, employs a Jain as one of his chief emissaries." (Cf. Narsimhāchār E. C. II. Int. Pp. 41; Smith, Oxford History of India pp. 75; Rice Lewis, Mysore and Kūrg pp. 8)

(4) Pariśiṣṭha Parva by Hemachandra, canto VIII, No. 194:—"Chāṇakya

His father's name was Chaṇak and his mother's name was Chaṇeśvarī. He was born with the two incisor teeth in his mouth. Though an astrologer himself, his father failed to understand the significance of this peculiarity. He, therefore, sought explanation from a Jaina monk, who said that the child would be a great king in future[5]. Thinking that a king's life is full of sins, the father rubbed the teeth off, and informed the monk of his action, upon which he received the reply that though the child would not actually be a king, he would be as powerful as a king. We know how this prediction was fulfilled.

Once upon a time Chāṇakya was rudely insulted by the youngest son of Nand IX. Burning with anger, he left the royal court for ever, and took a vow to exterminate the Nandas[6]. On his way he came across the pregnant mother of Chandragupta who had the strange longing to swallow the moon. Chāṇakya agreed to fulfil her desire on condition that her issue was to be handed over to him when he came to age. He got a small hut with a tiny hole at the top. The woman was seated within it with a dish full of water, in her hands. The disc of the moon was reflected in the water of the dish through the hole, and she was asked to drink it off, together with the reflection of the moon. Thus she was satisfied. Later on she gave birth to a son, who was named Chandragupta[7] after the strange longing of his mother. When he came to age, Chāṇakya took him away.

Chāṇakya now began to take steps to fulfil his vow. He began to roam in and out of dense forest, over hill and down dale, passing through many dangers and difficulties. Plunder and robbery were the activities he indulged in. He could not, however, chalk

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had all his teeth complete on being born". About this incident Jacobi makes the following note:—"The same circumstance is told of Richard III."

"Teeth hadst thou in thy head when thou wast born,

To signify thou comst to bite the world."

(5) Pariśiṣṭha Parva, canto VIII, for his life.

(6) He kept his hair uncombed as long as he did not fulfil his vow.

(7) Pp. 149 f. n. no. 24.

out a definite plan for the campaign. Once upon a time he and Chandragupta took shelter in a hut in which lived an old dame and her son. The son was trying to drink hot porridge directly from the middle of the bowl, instead of sipping at the edge. The dame rebuked him by saying, "Don't try to drink at a draught like Chāṇakya; sip at the edge".[8] Chāṇakya asked the explanation of the remark. The dame not knowing him, said that Chāṇakya should begin his campaign on frontiers instead of plunging into the heart of the Magadha territory." Chāṇakya grasped the wisdom of the citicism and successfully adopted it.

In the meanwhile[9] he had already declared Chandragupta as the king of a small territory. We do not know where his old capital was[10], though it is certain that he had founded one. It is possible that it might have been in the western woody region of modern Bihar.

The neighbouring region, scattered with hills and woods[11], was under the power of Vakragrīv[12] of Kaling, a descendant of Khārvel (Vol. I. P. 357). Since generations there had existed a feud between the kings of Kaliṅg and of Magadh. After agreeing to a fifty-fifty division of the spoils of victory[13], they invaded

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(8) Mahāvaṃśa, pp. 127, Columbo edition; A similar anecdote is given there.—"In one of the villages a woman (by whose hearth Chandragupta had taken refuge) baked a Chupathy and gave it to her child. He, leaving the edges, took a bite at the centre, and throwing the edges away, asked for another. Then she remarked that the boy's behaviour was like that of Chandragupta's efforts to conquer the Magadha empire. Upon the boy asking the meaning of the remark, she explained that Chandragupta, ambitious to become an emperor, had invaded the heart of the country, with the result that his army was surrounded and destroyed."

(9) The interval was B. C. 381 to 372.

(10) Read further; after further research I have arrived at a sort of conclusion.

(11) It was situated in the "Vaṁśadeśa". Vol. I. pp 137.

(12) Vide Vol. IV; also Vol. I. Pp. 357. f. n. 50.

(13) J. N. I. Pp. 131:—"Proposing him half of Nanda's country, if he would aid him to subdue Nand."

Magadh, and defeated[14] Nand IX in 372 B. C., Chandragupta was declared as the emperor of Magadh.

In the royal palace at Pāṭliputra the two kings met to divide the booty. There was an extremely beautiful girl at the court of Nand IX Vakragrīv declared that he would be satisfied with that girl as his share in the spoils.[15] Chāṇakya knew the peculiarity of her physical condition, which was that there was such keen poison in her body that whoever touched her, died instantaneously. Thus, though Chandragupta, overpowered by her beauty, at first hesitated to agree to this demand, he gave up the idea of having her, upon looking at certain signs made by Chāṇakya[16]. When the hand of the girl was placed in the hand of Vakragrīv, he died.[17] ( B. C. 372 )., facilitating thus Chandragupta's way to the conquest of the Kaliṅgas.

Chāṇakya's vow was fulfilled. Nand IX was released alive and was ordered to quit Magadh with as much wealth as he could carry in a chariot[18]. Chandragupta at first stayed outside the capital as he was to enter it in procession on a fixed day. On the same day was the exit of Nand IX, who started in his chariot, with his family and as much wealth as he could carry. On the way the two chariots encountered each other. Nanda's daughter fell madly in love with Chandragupta at seeing him, and expressed her determination to marry him. Chandragupta looked at Chāṇakya for advice, upon which the latter signed to him to accept the proposal. The princess was on the point of

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(14) J. B. B. R. A. S. IX, pp. 145:—"Chāṇakya having expelled them (Nand and his men) established Chandragupta."

(15) Pariśiṣṭha Parva, canto VIII:—The same girl was desired by Parvataka, who was enamoured of her beauty. During the marriage ceremony, due to the heat of fire, the girl perspired, and when Parvataka came into contact with her, he died. Thus Chandragupta got mastery over the territory of Parvataka.

(16) Chāṇakya's singlemindedness of purpose.

(17) F. n. above; account of Vakragrīv in the Kaliṅgas.

(18) Kautilya was not a miser hoarding money at all costs, as he is imagined to have been by certain writers.

climbing Chandragupta's chariot, when eight spokes[19] of the wheel broke down, much to the dismay of Chandragupta who was on the point of rejecting the princess. Chāṇakya prevailed over him to accept her, and explained that the omen was good prophesying that his dynasty would last upto eight kings[20].

Chāṇakya now turned his attention to introducing reforms in the system of administration. Chandragupta's treasury was almost empty, on account of warfare, and of allowing Nand IX to take away as much wealth as he could. Moreover Magadh had recently been under the clutches of a twelve-year famine[21], which worked havoc in deteriorating the people both physically and mentally[22]. Hence Chāṇakya's first and difficult task was to fill the coffers of the state. He devised various ingenious systems and machinations of collecting wealth, and wrote a marvellous treatise–the first of its kind–on political economy[23] in which are described the four cardinal methods of Government–namely–Persuasion–Bribery–Dissension and–Punishment by fines[24]. He brought the wealthy class under his thumb and exacted money from them by various ingenious methods of which he was a master.[25] It

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(19) Some say that nine spokes broke. The number of spokes to a wheel is generally even. The whole episode seems to me to be a myth.

(20) See above.

(21) Jaina books state twelve years. It may have had less duration. Its date must have been A. M. 150 to 160. (B. C. 377 to 367). The next famine lasted for full 12 years.

(22) At the behest of Sambhūtivijay and of the community, Sthūlibhadra had gone to Nepāl to study the fourteen Pūrvas from Bhadrabāhu. After this time last four Pūrvas were lost and certain changes were wrought in the frame of human body. (Bhadrabāhu was conversant with all the fourteen Pūrvas. Sthūlibhadra had mastered only ten, and knew the last four only in outline.

(23) The original compiler of all sciences was Mahāvīr.

(24) Śiyāji Series 139, "Chandragupta Maurya" Pp. 30.—"It is possible that Chāṇākya might have advised Chandragupta to adopt the methods of persuasion, bribery, dissension and punishment, one by one."

(25) Chāṇākya is famous both for his love of justice and his crooked ways. The truth remains to bo found out. (Read further)

is not an exaggeration to describe him as one of the greatest politicians of all ages[26].

The rest of his life, we shall describe while writing the account of Bindusār. Some writers are of the opinion that he was the prime-minister of Chandragupta. Truly speaking, however he acted as a royal preceptor[27]. His system of administration was to appoint departmental heads, who had to meet one another at regular intervals for the discussion of the general policy of the state[28]. He kept himself neutral, and presided over the meetings with a view to guiding these ministers. Even Chandragupta had partly to remain under his restraint, and was sometimes satirically addressed as "Vṛsal" by him. This word, however, does not mean that Chandragupta was a Śudra by birth, as is believed by certain writers.[29]

**Why Chānakya was called Kauṭalya ?**

The author of Arthaśāstra is referred to by a variety of names in various books:–Vātsyāyan, Mallanāg, Kauṭalya, Drāmil, Pakṣilswāmi, Viṣṇugupta, Aṅgula, Chāṇakya, etc.[30]. Of these three are important from the view point of history:—Chāṇakya, Kauṭalya and Viṣṇugupta.

Dr. Rājendralāl says:—[31] Those Hindus who migrated from Jāvā to Bali islands took with them a treatise on political

(26) His treatise on political economy deals with a wide variety of subjects. The date of its compilation must have been A. M. 160=367 B. C., at least not before that.

(27) Something like the modern system of federal government. He initiated the system of appointing governors to various provinces—the system was successfully adopted by Priyadarśin.

(28) He has never written in favour of the absolute autocracy of the king. He conceived the king's duty to protect his people. He was bound to pay thrice the cost of property stolen and not recovered by the police. He wanted the king to govern his actions according to the consensus of public opinion. (Arthaśāstra Vol. I. Chap. 19. Pp. 54).

(29) Vṛsal does not mean a Śūdra as is wrongly taken by certain writers. It meant "a king with limited powers".

(30) Sayāji Publication Series:—"Arthaśāstra" by Mr. Jayasukharām Josīpurā. No. 187, preface pp. 18.

(31) Ibid, pp. 17.

economy, namely, "Nitisār" by Kāmandak. This book contains some details about Chāṇakya. The name given to him in it is Viṣṇugupta, who is said to have come of a noble brahman family who had the vow of not receiving alms from any one.[32]. The inscription on the Sudarśana seems to support this theory of his original name being Viṣṇugupta[33].

Let us turn to the origin of Chāṇakya. In Pariśistha Parva it is stated (P. 165) that the name of the village where he was born was Chaṇak, the name of his father was Chaṇi[34] and that of his mother Chaṇeśvarī. Had he derived his name from his father, he would have been called Chāṇai or Chāṇaya, but by no means Chāṇakya. Dhundhirāj, in his introduction to Mudrārākṣas,[35] says that his father's name was Chanak; even then he should have been called Chānak. "Chāṇakya" can only be explained by saying that he derived the name from the name of his native village–Chāṇak.

Now we come to Kauṭilya:—It is a bit difficult to explain this name. The general opinion is that Chāṇakya was a cunning politician, and his politics might be called "Kuṭila", from which was derived the word ' Kautilya"—an abstract noun. In his preface to Mudrārākṣas, Dewan Bahadur Keshavlal H. Dhruv, seems to support this theory on the authority of Bāṇa. This view, however, is not correct.

We shall show later on that Chāṇakya was a shrewd politician no dobut, but it would be grave injustice to describe his political

(32) He observed this vow because though a brāhman, he was a follower of Jainism.

(33) Bhāvanagar State Inscriptions : Saṁskrt and Prākrt by Prof. Peterson, Epigraphica Indica, vol. VIII, pp. 32; appendix "B" at the end of this vol.

(34) Pp. 166 above; J. N. I. pp. 132, f. n. no. 8.—"Chāṇakya was a native of Chaṇak, a village of the Golla district." Āvasyaka Śūtra", pp. 133.

(35) K. A. J. Preface pp. 133.

(36) K. A. J. Preface pp. 21·—

"Kimvā teṣāṁ Sāṁpratam yeṣāmatinṛśaṁsaprāyopadeśa nighṛṇaṁ Kauṭilya-śāstra pramāṇaṁ."

behaviour as "low or cunning". A writer says:-" Kauṭilya is merely an abstract noun in the neuter. As an epithet for Chāṇakya, an adjective is necessary; hence Kauṭilya is out of place."[37].

What must have been the real word—" Kauṭilya " or "Kauṭalya " The above writer continues:-[38] " In Abhidhān Chintāmaṇi the word used is " Kauṭalya ". Hemchandra has given its etymological origin as follows.—" *Kuṭo*[40] *Ghaṭah* " *tam lānti Kuṭalāhā teṣām Apatya Kauṭalyah* ". In " Nirapekṣā " a commentary on Kāmandaka's " Nītisār " it is stated:—" Kuṭo Ghaṭah taṃ dhānyapūraṇaṃ lānti sa gṛhaṇanti iti Kuṭalāh. Kumbhī dhānyasteṣām Apatyaṁ Kauṭalyo Viṣṇuguptah. " Keśavasvāmī, the author of " Nānārtharṇava " has said that Kauṭalya is the right derivation from Koṭal "[41]. Mahāmahopādhyāy, Gaṇpati Śāstri has dubbed " Kauṭilya " as a scribe's error in place of the correct word " Kauṭalya ". Dr. Bhandarkar, too, is in favour of this theory. Hence we come to the conclusion that " Kauṭalya " is the right word. This name, as we have seen, is not derived from his gotra-descent. The same writer, Mr. Joshipurā, continues (P. 24):— " River Sarasvatī in the Punjab is also known as "Kuṭila"; the region about it may be called " Kuṭila " and an inhabitant of it may be called " Kauṭilyā"[42]. " Jayamaṅglā ",

(37) K. A. J. Pref. pp. 21.

(38) K. A. J. Pref. pp. 22.

(39) Hemachandra is the author both of "Abhidhān Chiṅtāmaṇi" and of "Pariśiṣtha Parva". He was the preceptor of Kumārapāl, the king of Gujarāt.

(40) Kūṭa=a jar; lānti=those who take; Apatyam=issue; i. e. one who stores corn=a farmer merchant.

(41) His Gotra, as we shall show later on, was Vātsyāyan. K. A. J. pp. 24.—"The Gotra known as Kautilya was a branch of Bhṛgu, and a sub-branch of Yāska. Hence "Kauṭalya" need not be substituted for "Kauṭilya" We shall see later on that this view is not correct.

(42) This is grammatically correct. Māgadh for the native of Magadh, Vaiśālīya for that of Vaiśālī, Gāṅgeya for that of the region around the Ganges; so Kauṭilīya or Kauṭileya for the native of the region surrounding the Kuṭilā (f. n. no. 43 below).

a commentary, supports this view.[43] Thus "Kauṭalya is derived from the profession of Chāṇakya's family[44], and "Kauṭilya" is derived from the name of his native place.

The Hindu Sāstras declare that the Sarasvatī was one of the several rivers which merged into the flow of the Indus from the eastern region[45]. The river is at present found in fragments and its sourse is still unknown. We have proved in Vol. I. (P. 217 and seq.) that the famous ruins known as Mohan-Jū-ḍero in the desert of Jesalmir, was a large flourishing city named Vīttabhayapattaṇ, which was the capital of Sindhu-Sauvir. We can thus draw the conclusion that some region in the desert of Jesalmir must have been known as "Kuṭali" in those times, when the river Sarasvatī flowed across it.

The famous Chinese traveller, Hu-en-Tśang, has described a region named "Aṭali" in his book. I have traced its situation in the desert of Jesalmir. (Vol. I. p. 64, Map II, No. 63, 64... p. 64). It is possible that this "Atali" may be only another name of "Kutali"; or "Atali" in place of "Kutali" may have been due to a scribe's error. Two pieces of evidence support this conclusion: (1) "Atali" is located to have been the region consisting of modern states of Jodhpur and Shirohi in Rajputana. A part of it is known as "Golvāḍ" or "Gollavāḍ". In Parisiṣtha Parva, VIII, 14 Hemachandra says that Chāṇakya's native village was Chaṇak, his native country was Golla, his father's name Chaṇi and his mother's Chaṇeśvarī. Thus the same region was known as "Kutali" in very ancient times, as "Atali" in the seventh century A. D. when Hu-en-Tśang visited India, and as "Golla" in the twelfth century when

(43) Surnames can be given based on profession and on the native place; the former is called Karmajanya Gotra and the latter, Janmabhūmi Gotra.

(44) F. n. n. 43 above.

(45) Seven rivers merged into the Indus from its eastern region and seven from the western. That is why it is sometimes called Saptasindhu. At present only five rivers flow into it from each direction. It may be concluded that one of the rivers that disappeared was the Sarasvatī. (Vol. I. Pp. 215 and f. n. no. 112-113).

Hemchandra flourished[46]. (2) It is stated in Jaina books that Ṙatnaprabhasūrī, the sixth disciple of Pārśvanāth, the 23rd Tīrthaṅkar, flourished eighty years after the death of Mahāvīr. He converted people to Jainism by lacs. These newly converted Jains gathered to gether and settled at a place named by them as the city of Ośiā–a sect of Jains is still known as Ośvals. This city went to ruins later on, and on its ruins was built Bhinnamāl, the situation of which can be located in Śirohi district. This region was also called Gūrjar. There is not an interval even of a century between the date of the foundation of this city (B. C. 477) and the date of Chāṇakya (372 B. C.). Chāṇakya's father is said to have been a wealthy farmer or merchant of the flourishing city. Not only was Chāṇakya a devout Jain but his father also. (Pariśiṣtha Parva, VIII).

In short, Chāṇakya's father was a wealthy farmer–merchant of Golla, and hence he was called Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya.

**Trio of Chāṇakya Pāṇini and Vararūchi**

We stated in Vol I. p. 334 that all the three men were of nor–Āryan origin because they were born in Kamboj. Now we have proved that at least Chāṇakya was not born there; the other two, or Pāṇīni alone may have been born there. Let us arrange some details about them.

| Name | Birthplace | Gotra (Lineage) | Arya or Non-Arya |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paṇīni | Gonārḍa or Gāndhār (Afghanistan) Kuṭali–Golla | (Not known) | Non–Āryan |
| Chāṇakya | Gūrjar. (Mārwār) | Vātsyāyan | Ārya |
| Vararūchi | (Not known) | Kātyāyan | Probably Ārya |

**Arthaśāstra**

This comprehensive treatise is more than what comprises Political Economy. It has learned chapters on the evolution of Political institutions. It includes "chapters on the definition, the sources, the production, the distribution and the accumulation of wealth."[47]

(46) The borderland of Golla may have been known as Gollavāḍ. Vāḍ=Fence.

(47) K. A. J. Pref. pp. 9.

It is stated in "Bhakti Rasāyan" a Vedic book[48]:—"Artha (wealth) earned or accumulated by, and for means and purposes other than religious and not for the benefit of others, is harmful and sinful." Honesty and straight-forwardness are its sheet-anchor and wealth gathered in this way is known as "Nyāyasampanna Vaibhava" in Jaina books. It is thus clear that[49] "individuals as well as nations should accumulate wealth by honesty and straight forward course of conduct. A treatise propounding principles of the production, the distribution and the accumulation of wealth is Arthaśāstra" Chāṇakya himself has called it "An introduction to Politics"[50], which he has sometimes called the science of punishment of crimes[51]. Such punishment, according to him, should neither be too severe nor too mild, but just proper to the crime committed. It was meant as a sort of restraint on the evil-doers in society.[52] Most of the principles and doctrines established by him are so closely woven into the fabric of modern life that we are hardly aware of their existence[53].

He himself states:—"This book is complied after a thorough study of all previous treatises on the subject by ancient sages."[54]. This means that most of the doctrines stated in the book owe their origin to those ancient treatises compiled by religious prophets[55]. The book eloquently lays it bare, that the author was a thorough believer in the ultimate judgement of human reason[56]. Low politics and tricks have no place in the book[57].

(48) Ibid. Pp. 10
(49) Ibid. Pp. 11.
(50) Ibid. Pp. 13.
(51) Ibid. Pp. 28.
(52) Ibid. Pp. 32.
(53) Ibid. Pp. 15.
(54) Ibid. Pp. 12.
(55) Those who believe that Chāṇakya himself was the originator of all the politic-economic-social doctrines he propounded, will thus see that he himself acknowledges his profound debt to previous great writers
(56) K. A. J. Pp. 30.
(57) Ibid. Pp. 28. "Kauṭilya never preached low and tricky politics."

On the contrary he preaches the doctrine of "Sins come home to roost" in the chapter on how to deal with enemies.[58]. Thus "Kauṭalya never advocated cunning or inconstancy and never transgressed the bounds of justice[59]. His book is properly called "Ākarah sarvaśāstrāṇāṁ" by Viśākhadev"[60]. Whether he was inspired to write such a marvellous treatise after a study of the rules framed by Śreṇik for the government of guilds[61], or whether he derived his deep knowledge from Śakadāl, the prime-minister of Nand IX, under whom he served as an apprentice[62] and studied these sciences[63], one thing is clear, and that is, "Artha-śāstra" is one of the greatest classics of all ages.

**The Birth of Bindusār**

The daughter of Nand IX, now chief queen of Chandragupta became pregnant in about A. M. 157=370 B. C. The people of Magadh were suffering from the pangs of famine which had settled on the land since several years. Jaina monks began to find it difficult to get enough food to keep their bodies and souls together. Two of them, who knew the art of making themselves invisible by applying some ointment to their eyes, decided to partake of the dish of Chandragupta everyday.[64]. Thus, though the king was served with double the amount of his former quantity of food, yet, because of the trick of these monks, he

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(58) Ibid. Pp. 33.

(59) Cf. f. n. no. 56.

(60) Ibid. Pp. 20.

(61) Vol. I. Pp. 255 f. n. no. 21.

(62) K. A. J. Pp. 18; a sentence from Bṛhatkathā is quoted there:—
"Chāṇakyanāmnā tenāya Śakaṭāl gṛhe rahah."

(64) Samprati Kathā, pp. 50:—"A monk chanced to come there. Being very old, he could not travel. Knowing that the famine was imminent, he sent his disciples away out of the likely-to-be-affected region. Two disciples, however, stayed with him in Pāṭaliputra due to their love for their preceptor. These were the monks who practised the trick of making themselves invisible and then partake of the dishes of the king." Bharateśvar Bāhubalī Vṛti, Trans. pp. 245-46.

began to grow weaker and weaker as days passed on. No one could understand this riddle. At last the cook informed Chāṇakya of this, who quickly understood the cause. He ordered the cook to fill the dining-room of the king with smoke at the time of the next meal, with the result that when the king sat to the next meal together with those two invisible monks, the smoke turned into liquid the ointment which began to flow down in form of tears. No sooner did the ointment totally disappear than they became visible to all Chāṇakya mildly rebuked them and sent them away.

To meet all such tricks effectively in future Chāṇakya began to mix poison with the king's dishes[65]. As time went on, the king's constitution became so accustomed to poison, the amount of which was gradually increased, that any one else who tasted of his food would instantaneously die. Once upon a time, the chief queen sat to meals with the king and began to partake of his dish. The king, who did not know that his dish was poisoned, did not stop her. Hardly had she swallowed some mouthfuls, when Chāṇakya chanced to come there; seeing that the queen had already swallowed too much to save her life, he instantly seized a sharp weapon, opened the womb of the queen[66] and took the child out, on whom poison had just begun to work[67], and on whose forehead was a large drop of poison. Hence he was named Bindu-sār. This took place in 157 A. M.=370 B. C.

The queen, who instantly died, was during the eighth month of pregnancy. A child born during the eighth month remains a weakling throughout his life, in case it does not die as do majority of them. So was Bindusār a valetudinarian throughout his life.

Chāṇakya saw the chief monk in connection with the mis-

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(65) Ibid. Pp. 65.—"Then Chāṇakya began to gradually mix poison with king's food."

(66) The name of Bindusār's mother was Durdharā (Pariśiṣṭa Parva viii Trans. Pp. 148). It follows therefore that she must be Mahānand's daughter and Chandragupta's chief queen.

(67) Ibid. Pp. 67.—"That portion of the head where the poison drop had fallen, remained bald."

behaviour of his two disciples. The chief monk replied that there would have been no occasion for his disciples to resort to that kind of trick[68], had he or the king seen to it that the monks got the necessary amount of food[69] in times of scarcity. Chāṇakya realized his mistake and thenceforth made the necessary arrangements. When the famine was over and Chandragupta's kingdom began to prosper, he directed his energies to work out rules and regulations for the proper conduct of society–ultimately culminating into Arthaśāstra[70].

**His religion**

Whenever Chandragupta and Chāṇakya discussed religious matters, the former many a time showed his inclination towards Brāhminism, and the latter towards Jainism. At last once the king asked him to convince him of the superiority of Jainism. Chāṇakya invited many non–Jaina sages to the palace of the king under the pretext of religious discussion. Several windows of the discussion–hall overlooked the harem; the passage to them was

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(68) Samprati Kathā, pp. 58:—"The chief monk said to him:—"Oh Chāṇakya, you are Jain; your father Chaṇi was a Jain; so look to the facility of Jaina monks (f.n. no. 64 above)". This took place in 370 B. C. or 157 A. M. The famine was the severest at the time, i. e. it must have commenced at least three to four years previous to that, A. M. 153 or B. C. 374.

Jaina books say, that due to famine the retentive power of the monks had begun to be adversely affected. Requested by the Jaina community of Pāṭaliputra, Sambhūtivijay sent his disciple Sthūlībhadra to Nepāl where Bhadrabāhu resided, for further study. This Sambhūtivijay died in A. M. 156. If the incident took place in 154 A. M., then the famine can be said to have begun in A. M. 150 or B. C. 377. Cf. f. n. no. 21.

(69) The set of rules to be observed by the Jaina monks is called Āchār, and the treatise pertaining to that is called Āchārāṅg–sūtra. A slight mistake in the observance of these rules is called "Ati–chār", and the penance undergone for purification of the same is called "Ālochanā". "Anā–chār", on the other hand, means total disregard of the rule or rules, and it is almost unpardonable or can be mitigated by the severest possible punishment only.

(70) Truly speaking all rules and regulations were effectively framed and introduced by Śreṇik; Chāṇakya must have made only necessary changes to suit the conditions of his own time. (Read chap. I. beginning of the art of writing).

ordered to be strewn with soft sand by Chāṇakya[71]. The invited sages, while awaiting the king's arrival, could not restraint themselves from going over to these windows in order to satisfy their curiosity of looking into the harem. After their departure Chāṇakya showed Chandragupta the imprints of their foot-prints on the sand, thus convincing him of their lack of control over their minds. After some days several Jaina monks were invited under the same pretext, and the same arrangement of dust was ordered by Chāṇakya. The monks however, while awaiting the king, did not budge an inch from their seats, and were supremely indifferent to the windows. After their departure Chāṇakya showed the king that the sand was intact, and convinced him that the Jaina monks were always absorbed in the betterment of their souls and had no interest in affiairs terrestrial[72].

**Chandragupta's devotedness to religion**

Śatrunjay-Siddhāchal was the greatest holy place of Jains as it is even to-day. It is called the eternal holy place[73]. Its area was not so restricted as it is now. It stretched over the whole of southern Saurāṣtra and its circumference was not merely 24 miles as it is now, but was eight yojans. The present Girnār was merely one of the many peaks, and was then called Raivatāchal[74], and ascent on it began near the rock-inscription of Priyadarśin, near which are found the ruins of Sudarśan lake[75]. Chandragupta used to visit this holy place with Chāṇakya and with a host of pilgrims[76], and he ordered the lake to be dug

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(71) "Mahān Samprati" pp. 66, Samprati Kathā, pp. 60 to 64.

(72) Pariśistha Parva, VIII, (Trans), "Chāṇakya convinced Chandragupta that the monks of any other order than Jainism were devoid of the strength of character, and that the Jaina monks were wholly engrossed in spiritual affairs".

(73) That which is not affected by physical changes, minor changes may be wrought by nature, but the place itself is not entirely wiped out of existence. (Vol. I. Pp. 218).

(74) See paragraph.—"Though eternal yet under the clutches of time."

(75) Ibid.

(76) In Jainism it was, and is a common custom to start such pilgrimages (Saṅghas) in which one man pays the expenses of the whole journey. This is the first historic pilgrimage.

with a view that the pilgrims there might never be hard-pressed for water[77]. Some writers are of the opinion that the lake was built for irrigational and agricultural purposes[78]. This opinion, however, is ill-founded, because had Chandragupta had this purpose in mind, he would have got such lakes and dams dug in every corner of his empire. This proves that he had got it dug, inspired with the lordly ideal[79] of facilitating the necessities of his co-religionists[80].

**Though eternal yet under the clutches of time**

The foot of the Śatrunjay has receded from the region near Junāgadh to the region near Palitāṇā. Due to our contact with western methods of thinking, we, in the beginning accepted only those things as true which had their concrete manifestation[81]; later on, concrete or abstract, we began to accept the existence of those things which appealed to and convinced our reason[82]; the progress of science has taught us to credit

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(77) The date of Sudarśan lake inscription may be taken as A. M. 160 to 165=B. C. 367 to 362. Means of travel being very difficult in those times, people joined these pilgrimages in large numbers, but they were ensured of their safety. The longer the course of the journey, the greater the number of people that joined such pilgrimage. They took with them beasts of burden and carts in order to carry their luggage. Such a large number of people and animals naturally requires plenty of water, and hence the Sudarśan lake at the place of pilgrimage—holiest and the terminus. Thus the Sudarśan lake was dug with the purpose of providing enough water-supply to these pilgrims—an eloquent tribute to the devout nature of both Chandragupta and Chāṇakya.

(78) E. H. I. 3rd. edi. Smith. pp. 133:—"The fact (Sudarśan lake) that so much pains and expense were lavished upon the irrigation work in a remote dependency of the empire is conclusive evidence that the provision of water for the fields was recognized as an imperative duty by the great Mauryan emperor."

(79) Priyadarśin's life is full of such incidents of extending all possible facilities to co-religionists. The Jaina term for this is "Svāmivātsalyatā."

(80) Coins of Chandragupta and of Priyadarśin. (C. A. I. Plate XII, nos. 10 and 14: in this book nos. 67, 71 etc.).

(81) We refused to believe in the possibility of life in plants.

(82) We have already changed our ideas about the origin and the beginning of the world-thanks to the Egyptian mummies. We have begun to believe in

those things with truth upon which we looked with eyes of incredulity only a few years ago.[83]. A sort of psychology has taken root in us to trust those things which are sanctioned as true by western scholars, and discredit every conclusion of an Indian scholar, though he has given cart-loads of evidence to support his view. We should get rid of this mentality as soon as possible.

Nature has its own immutable laws (Vol. I. P. 5); great men come and go in adherence to certain laws; (Vol. I. P. 6, Vol. II. P. 2 & seq.). Time stretches his mighty hand over everything (Vol. I. P. 217 & seq. Mohan-jā-dero and the desert of Jesalmir); Nature, in short, governs the universe, by certain laws, and only revolutionary changes draw our attention to their mighty force. At the time when Sudarśan lake was dug, three mighty changes took place. Let us state them to-gether with one that immediately preceded them:—

(1) B. C. 569 (Vol. I. P. 364)—the date when Mahāvīr renounced the world and became a Jaina monk.

(2) B. C. 523 (Vol. I. P. 368), the next Ārā of Avasarpiṇi, began (three years and eight and half months after the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr).

(3) B. C. 463—the date of the Nirvāṇ of Śrījambu, the second disciple of Mahāvīr (64 years after him); there was a terrible famine in Magadh, and the canal, mentioned in Hāthīgumphā inscription was dug.

(4) B. C. O. (zero) or A. M. 470

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the actual existence in ancient times of vast-sized animals and human beings—thanks to the excavations of their skeletons.

(83) Flying in the air was thought to be an impossibility only some years ago. People still disbelieve in the existence of heavens, oceans, and many other worlds and phenomena described in scriptures, though modern science is rapidly narrowing this gulf of incredulity. It is only just to either to prove or to disprove the existence or otherwise of a particular thing, instead of only denouncing or hailing it as false or true.

Many other important changes took place during these years[84]. The last three have some connection with the Sudarśan lake.

No. I:—The fourth Ārā of Avasarpiṇi had not yet ended at this time. The cirumference of the Śatrunjay was more[85] than 12 yojans[86]. It had 108 peaks; many of them had already disappeared. The chief of those existing at that time[87] were Ḍhaṅkgiri in the west and Ānandgiri in the north; the former was near the modern village named Ḍhāṅk, and the latter was near Ānandpur near Chotilā. Its southern and eastern boundaries were as they are now, with certain minor changes. The ascent began near Ānandpur, and the boundary of the kingdom under whose authority it was, also included from Asthikgrām. When Mahāvīr, becoming a Jaina monk, spent his first monsoon at this place, its name was changed to Varddhamānpur, because the real name of Mahāvīr was Varddhamān.[88] This city ultimately became the capital of the kingdom, the last independent king of which[89] was conquered and subdued by Mulrāj Solaṅki, the founder of the Solaṅki dynasty in Gujrāt. As the time went on, this peak was separated from the main mountain (at the time when changes No 2 & 3 took place[90]) and its importance began to decrease.

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(84) These changes are concerned with Jainism and hence are not stated here. One of the changes however was the deterioration in the retentive faculty of men (A. M. 64=B. C. 463; Hāthīgumfā inscriptions); the other was the advent of Jesus Christ.

(85) According to Jainism the circumference of this mountain in very ancient times was 80 yojans.

(86) 1 Yojan=4 Gāu.
1 Gāu=2 Miles.

(87) There were other peaks, but of less importance.

(88) I have written an article on "Varddhamānpurī" in "Jaina Dharma Prakāś", Samvat 1985, vol. 45, the Śrāvaṇa number, pp. 161 to 174: see the copper-inscription found from Haḍālā.

(89) There were two or three cities named Ānandapur; this one was near Varddhamānpur.

(90) For details see J. D. P. Vol. 45, Samvat 1985, Vaiśākh number, pp. 58 to 73.

During the time when changes No. 2 and 3 took place, though the circumference of the mountain had decreased, yet it was 12 yojans. During this time Dhankgiri seperated itself from the main body.

During the interval of time that elapsed between changes No. 3 & 4 ( 460 years ) only two major peaks remained united, namely, Raivatgiri[91] and Vimalgiri[92]. At the time when the Mahābhārat wars were fought, Lord Kṛṣṇa's kingdom extended over the territory surrounding Raivatgiri. It is interesting to know why the seat of his capital was changed from Dwarkā to Kuśashthalī and from thence to Ānartapura[93] but that do s not concern us here. At this time the ascent to the holy mount was from Raivatagiri (Girnār), just at the place where there is situated to-day Dāmodar Kuṇd. Chandragupta ascended the mount from this place where he got the lake Sudarśan dug, in order to facilitate water-supply to the pilgrims. He got, on the bank of the lake[94] a rock-inscription erected[95]. The pilgrims who wanted to go to Vimalgiri, pressed eastwards and passing near a village, known as Ghetī at present[96], they ascended the peak. The peak named Kadambgiri, on the south of Śatrunjay seems to have separated itself from the main mount at this time[97].

When the change No. 4 took place, Raivatgiri and Vimalgiri seperated themselves from each other, thus giving rise to the necessity of fixing the main ascent. A deputation of Jaina laymen

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(91) The modern Girnār.

(92) The original name of Śatrunjay.

(93) For details see my article in "Buddhiprakāś", 1934, pp. 318 to 323.

(94) See the account of Priyadarśin for the causes why he got inscriptions—both rock and pillar—erected

(95) Vide the account of Priyadarśin for details as to whether he contributed anything to the repairs of the lake. For more details vide the appendix on the Suderśan lake at the end of this volume.

(96) At present this village is within the territory of the Pālitāṇā State People believe that the ascent to the mount Śatrunjay began here.

(97) Repairations are being made here with a view to establishing it as a separate place for pilgrimage.

under the Jaina monks named, Pādaliptasūri, Āryya-khaput and Nāgārjun (?) waited upon Śakāri Vikramāditya, king of Avanti and king Hāl-Śālivahan of the south; and requested them to found a new town in the teritory of the latter[98]. The request was granted and the new town was named Pādalipta-sthān, after Pādaliptasūri. It is now known Palitāṇā.

The present area has narrowed down to 24 miles. It will now be clear to the reader the meaning of an eternal holy place[99] (cf. P. 179 f. n 73), and how the prophecies foretold in Jaina books have been, and are proving true as time goes on.

The rock-inscription of Sudarśan was erected during the time of Priyadarśin[100]. It is stated therein that the lake was dug during the time of Chandragupta[101] under the supervision of Suviśākh, the governor of the province under Chandragupta. It is also stated that this Suviśākh belongs to the Pallava family. Scholars have confused the Pallavas with Pahlavas a race of foreigners—and have committed the error of concluding that Suviśākh must have been sent to the court of Chandragupta with a Persian princess, who must have been married with Chandragupta. Now these two families[102] are quite separate from each other, the former are Indians, and the latter are foreigners. We shall discuss this in details in vol. III.

**Had foreigners any thing to do with the Sudarśan lake inscription?**

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(98) For details vide their accounts in vol. IV.

(99) This clarification of the meaning of an "eternal" place has simplified some of my problems. (Vol. I, details about Cutch and Kāthiāwār and foot-notes in connection with them; f. n. no. 90 and 95 above.)

(100) The rock-edict which contains the inscription of Priyadarśin, also contains this Sudarśan-edicts; scholars at present are of the opinion that the Sudarśan inscription was erected by Mahākṣatrap Rudradāman of Chasṭhana dynasty.

(101) Epigraphica Indica Vol. VIII p. 32.; E. H. I. 3rd ed. p. 133, by Vincent Smith.

(102) The Pallavas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Cholās were branches of Saṁvriji Licchavi Clan (Vol. I. p. 347 etc.)

**Proofs to the effect that Chandragupta was a Jain**

We are not certain what religion Chandragupta followed at first; many pieces of evidence, however, can be forwarded to prove that shortly after his accession to the throne, he put himself under the banner of Jainism.

The rock-inscriptions at Śravan-Belgol, at Sudarśan lake and at Sāñchī Topes, prove the unquestionability of Chandragupta having been a staunch Jain.

At Śravaṇ Belgol he ended his days by penance, after the death of Bhadrabāhu. He had got a palace built at Vidiśānagari and used to stay there at intervals, because it facilitated his pilgrimage to Śatrunjay, towards which he had started with a large host of pilgrims. The mount is the holiest of the holy places for Jains who visit it as often as they can.

The region about Sāñchī Topes was also a Jaina place of pilgrimage ( Vol. I. pp. 189). One of the Topes contains the name of Chandragupta. General Cunningham says:—[103] " His gift to the Sāñchī Tope for its regular illumination and for the perpetual service of the śramanas or ascetics was no less a sum than twenty-five thousand dinnārs. (£. 25000 is equal to two lacs and a half rupees)." This shows his devoutness to religion. The donation of the king is connected with a unique occasion in Jainism : " When Mahāvīr died[104], the Jaina community at the disappearance of the spiritual lamp lighted physical lamps, and henceforth that day was celebrated[105] as the illumination day." An undeniable proof of his having been a devout Jain.[106] The coins of Chandragupta and of Bindusār supply another incontrovertible proof.[107].

(103) The Bhilsā Topes, pp. 154.

(104) Kalpasūtra Commentaries (trans.), pp. 102.

(105) Henceforth began the popular festival of Divāli.

(106) R. A. S. 1887, pp. 175, f. n.:—"Chandragupta was a member of the Jaina community."

(107) Chap. on coins, nos. 67, 68, 71.

In the vol. I. p. 189 we have stated that in ancient times the province of Ujjain was known as Avanti. Later on it was divided into two parts; one was known as Eastern Avanti and the other as Western[108]. The importance of Ujjain as a capital had decreased when the kingdom was annexed to the Magadha empire at the end of the Pradyota dynasty. Avanti began to regain some of its original prestige when Chandragupta got a palace built there for the residence of the royal family.

**The origin of the name Sañchipuri**

The partition must have been effected during the time of Chandragupta[109] who intended to change the seat of his capital in this province, but was prevented from doing so, by the force of certain circumstances. At last, when his territorial extent had increased, thus establishing his prowess and prestige,[110] he made the partition, settled Ujjain as the capital of the western portion and Vidiśā as the capital of the eastern portion,[111] of which the heir to the throne of Magadh was appointed as governor, and for whose residence–and for his,–he got a palace built there where he dreamt those sixteen dreams[112].

Why was he so much attracted towards his place ? In vol I. pp. 185 seq. we have stated nine points and have proved that this place is closely associated with Jainism. Chandragupta and Priyadarśin perpetuated this association. Hemchandra, the preceptor of Kumār-

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(108) Purātattva; our vol. I. pp. 49, no. 24, details about Daśarṇa.

(109) The Bhilsā Topes, pp. 154, art. 17; Translations, R. A. S. Vol. I. pp. 211, Colonel Todd:—"Chandragupta, the lord of Avanti or Ujjain."

(110) Chandragupta might have been inclined towards this place because it was situated in the centre of his vastly extended kingdom. The decision to appoint the heir-apparent as the governor of the place shows the farsighted policy and shrewdness of Chāṇakya.

(111) Vol. I. pp. 185. We have proved on the authority of Sir Cunningham that Vidiśā has begun to prosper on the ruins of Besanagar, which means that, as the latter was found to be too small to be a capital, a new city was built in its neighbourhood, probably in the east. That is why it is described in Jaina books as Pūrva Vidiśā. Vol. I. pp. 183. f. n. no. 108.

(112) Pp. 145–5 above.

pāl, and historian of great insight[113] and other Jaina monks as well as scriptures have described this place as deeply attached to Jainism by various ties. The place is studded with Topes of various sizes, most of them containing relics (teeth, bones, hair etc) of the great monks of the past. Most of the legends, particularly one connected with "Siddha-kā-sthān" have been given place by scholars like general Cunningham in their books. Thus the topes here are relics in commemoration of the great men of the past, whose gotras[116] are mentioned there. One of the Topes[117] known as "Siddha-kā-sthān" bears the name "Mahākaśap." It has two topes of comparatively smaller size on its either side. When Jaina Tīrthaṅkar dies, several of his disciples die with him by going without food. The Tīrthaṅkar's body is burnt at a particular place and on its either side are burnt the bodies of those who followed him in death.[118] This time-honoured custom of Jainism proves that the place known as "Siddha-kā-sthān" is definitely a Jaina place and so are others. Most of the Topes are built in commemoration of the death of Mahāvīr[119] and his disciples. His family name was "Kaśap" and in order to distinguish him from other members of the same family, he was called "Mahākaśap". Hence all the Topes have been erected in memory of his disciples[120] and other followers[121]. The family

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(113) The Pariśiṣthaparv is a history of those dynasties who ruled Avanti.

(114) Two instances from these scriptures have already been quoted. (Vol. I. pp. 182 and seq.).

(115) In the hollow of the Topes are placed stone-boxes which have the names and the relics.

(116) For details read the Bhilsā Topes.

(117) Great men were known by family names in those times. (F. n. no. 115 above).

(118) K. S. S. C. Pp. 123.

(119) The interval between the attainment of Kaivalya Gñān by one Tīrthaṅkar and his follower, is known as Tīrtha of the former.

(120) K. S. S. C. Pp. 80.—"Mahāvir's preaching was fruitless [illegible] It is a strange and unbelievable statement "Mahāvir alone attained Nirvāṇa" when so many made the common cause with his death.'

(121) This does not mean that all of them died at that very place. Tees

names of some of the disciples of Mahāvīr agree with the family names inscribed on these Topes.

Why was the place named Sāñchī ? "Sañchaya" means "Collection".; and what was done here is merely a collection of the relics of great Jaina monks[122]. The original name "Sañchayapuri" deteriorated into Sāñchīpuri due to modes of incorrect pronunciation. Jaina scriptures and holy psalms loudly acclaim this place to be a great and sacred holy place[123]. We should remember that Sāñchīpuri was the eastern portion of Vidiśā.

**What religion did Chāṇakya follow ?**

The very fact that Chandragupta was a Jain, leads us to the logical conclusion that his preceptor and guardian Chāṇakya was a follower of the same religion[125]. In fact it must have been he, who must have converted Chandragupta to Jainism.[126]. The Arthśāstra itself contains unmistakable allusions and references to that effect[127]; so do Jaina books. While no ancient book contains any evidence to prove that he was a follower of the Vedic religion, which had practically disappeared till the beginning the Śuṅga

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death may have occurred at different places. Their relics were brought here by their followers. (Vide the account of Priyadarśin).

(122) Cf. f. n. no. 121; paragraphs on Topes in the account of Priyadarśin.

(123) Vol. I. Pp. 182 & seq.

(124) It is famous as Pāvāpurī in Jaina literature; yet because of the death of Mahāvīr there, it has been also called Pāpānagarī=(Sinful city). (K. S. S. C. Pp. 101). In fact it was the eastern suburb of Vidisā, and that is why Samayasundar has sung of it as "Pūrva Vidiśā". Its real name may have been Parvatapurī; it is surrounded by a hilly region.

(125) Read previous pages of this chaper.

(126) During the rule of Mahānand, he was a close disciple of prime-minister Śakaḍāl. They were followers of the same religion.

(127) F. n. no. 2 and 3 above; Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā Bulletin, vol. X, par. 4, pp. 612, f. n. no. 26:—"In Pariśiṣṭha Parva, Hemachandra has stated that Chāṇakya was a Jain and wanted to convert Chandragupta to Jainism". Muni Kalyāṇavijayji continues:—"This proves that Chāṇakya 'at last converted Chandragupta to his faith". The Jainism on Early Life of Aśoka, pp. 23 (Mr. Thomas).

dynasty in the second century B. C., when it revived with the advent of Patañjali. No king followed that religion upto that time; neither were the Aśvamegha sacrifices heard of. One fails to understand on what grounds scholars have built the conclusion that he was a follower of the Vedic religion. He was a Brāhmin by birth[128], and a Jain by religion Most of the disciples of Mahāvīr were brahmins, who, deep-read and logical as they were, were strongly attracted towards a faith that convinced them of its superiority to others.

(1) Dr. Bhandarkar in Aśoka P. 4 says:—(Piller E. V.) " Aśoka mentions prohibiting castration, killing of animals etc. on certain days. Curiously enough, most of these days agree with those of Kauṭalya. " This means that Chāṇakya and the king who got this pillar erected were followers of the same religion—Jainism–as we shall later on prove. If we take this pillar to have been erected by Aśoka, (which it was not), even then, we must logically come to the conclusion that Chāṇakya must have been a Buddhist, as Aśoka undoubtedly was one.

(2) Another writer says:–[129]. " To put it in the words of Dr. Carpentier in the second Upāṅg the Rāyapassaniya, the interesting relations of which to the Payasisutta of Dignikay were detected and dealt with by Professor Leumann, that Brahmanas guilty of certain crimes should be stigmatised (should be branded upon their foreheads). This coincides with Kauṭilya P. 220. But this rule does not occur in Manu and the later law-books, where corporal punishments on Brahmanas are not permissble. " This means that Kauṭalya agreed with Jaina and Buddhist books in his ideas about punishment but differed from

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(128) Prof. Hermann Jacobi, (J. N. I. Pp. 138, f. n. no. 13 and pp. 62 of his book) This means that Chāṇakya's family was of Brāhmaṇ origin by birth or heritage and Jain by faith".

Edward Thomas states (pp 25-26 of his book)—"But though our king-maker was a Brāhmaṇ he was not necessarily in the modern acceptation of the term, "Brahmanist".

(129) Jainism in Northern India, pp. 244.

the Vedic books—a clear proof that he was not a follower of the Vedic religion. We have made it clear that he was not a follower of Buddhism. Thus by the process of elimination we arrive at the conclusion that he was a Jain.

(3) Mudrā-rakṣas, which dramatizes the story of Chandragupta[130], tells us:–" Jains held a prominent position at the time, and that Chāṇakya who was the prime agent in the revolution, employed a Jain as one of his emissaries."

In short Chāṇakya was a follower of Jainism.

It is certain that Chandragupta had established his power over a smaller territory before he became the emperor of Magadh.

**Other events**

It is probable that this territory was the woody region between the Aṅgas and the Vaṁśas (in which at present are situated Chattisgaḍh district and Bastār state;[131]) we know, how Chāṇakya hit upon the right method of attack after the episode of the old woman and her son[132]. First he invaded the kingdom of the third Āndhra king, Vidarbhapati, Śātakaraṇi Kṛṣṇa ( A. M. 153–4=B. C. 373 ), killed the king and subduced his territory[133]. Encouraged as he was by this victory, he did not feel it safe to march upon Magadh, on his own strength. We have already stated how Vakragrīv of Kaliṅg joined issue with him[134] on condition of having equal share in the booty. Thus when he ascended the throne of Magadh, the whole of northern India including Gujarat and Kathiawar, Rajputana and Mewar, came under his power. During the fifteen years of his rule he was solely occupied with subduing as much of southern India as he could. We know how, though he had to confront there two powerful kingdoms—Kaliṅg and Āndhra he

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(130) Ibid. Pp. 130.

(131) Vide the account of Chedideśa in vol. III.

(132) Pp. 167 above.

(133) Vol. IV.

(134) Viz., the incident between Nandivardhan and Kṣemarāj, between Bṛhaspatimitra and Khāravel.

overcome them both[135] ( Vol. I. chap. VI). We shall discuss this in details in the chapter on the territorial extents of Maurya emperors.

One thing remains to be mentioned. Chandragupta had no occasion to go towards northern India[136] either for the purpose of conquering it, because it came under his power by virtue of his accession to the throne, or for suppressing a rebellion, because there arose none. In fact he never went to the Punjab to oppose Alexander the Great, because he died thirty years before the invasion of the latter[137].

When he ascended the throne, a severe famine had encircled Magadh with its tentacles[138]. It was, however, followed by a good amount of rainfall, and then ensued a period of comparative economic ease during which Chāṇakya composed Arthaśāstra[139].

We know that he had got a palace built in Avanti[140], where

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(135) E. H. I. 3rd edi. Smith . Pp. 149—"But the ascertained outline of the career of Chandragupta is so wonderful and implies his possession of such exceptional ability that the conquest of the south must be added to the list of his achievements".

Chandragupta Maurya—"Sayāji Series No. 139, pp 34.—"The territory of Chandragupta extended upto the river Kṛṣṇā in the south, he had founded there a city named "Chandragupta Nagarī".

Aśoka, R. K. Mukerji, pp. 13.—For a definite and long continued tradition describes Chandragupta abdicating and retiring as a Jaina saint at Śravan-Belagola in Southern Mysore; upto which, therefore, his dominions must have extended". For further proofs see coins of Chandragupta nos. 67, 68.

(136) F. n. no. 137 below. (Paragraphs above showing the impossibility of Chandragupta and Sandrecottus having been the same individual).

(137) Ind. Ant. XXXII, pp. 232 —"Chandragupta is never proved to have visited the Punjāb.

(138) N. P. Sabhā Bulletin, vol. X, part IV, pp. 653 —"Niśīthachūrṇi states that there was a famine during the reign of Chandragupta". (Two famines inflicted themselves upon Magadh during Chandragupta's reign, at the beginning of the second of which he abdicated his kingdom. Cf. f. n. no 21 above)

(139) Between A. M. 160 to 168, B. C 367 to 359.

(140) Digambara books have described him as a "King of Ujjain". The word king is used here in the sense of "emperor". (Bṛhat Kathākośa by Hari-ṣena—A. D. 931—; Bhadrabāhu Charitra by Ratnanandi, 15th century A. D. pp. 38; Devachandra described him as "King of Pātaliputra". (1633 A. D).

he dreamt the famous fourteen[141] dreams which he recounted to his preceptor Bhadrabāhu[142], who predicting the advent of a twelve-year famine[143], turned the mind of the king towards "affairs spiritual" by showing the worthlessness of worldly things. Bhadrabāhu decided on migrating towards the south[144]; and leaving behind those who were unable to travel, he started with some of his disciples[145]. Chandragupta also entered the holy order under him

**His abdication**

(141) Śvetāmbara books state that he had fourteen dreams; the Digambara books state that he had sixteen. For details see their rsspective books; Epigraphica Karnatica, vol. II, pp. 38.

(142) Pp. 156 above.

(143) He was the last Śrutakevalī, f. n. no. 70 above.

(144) Whether Chandragupta entered the holy orders immediately after the prophecy was declared, or whether he did so after some months when Bhadrabāhu started for the south, and when his son Bindusār came to age of 14 years, I have not been able to decide. (Vide the account of Bindusār).

(145) J. N. I. Pp. 135:—"As a result of this prophecy, a large body of Jains (numbering about 12000) came to the south, where several of them (including Bhadrabāhu) died by the holy vow of Samle-khanā—Chandragupta, who followed the Saṁgha,* renouncing everything, remained for twelve years at Belagol, and finally himself died by the same rite.

(146) I suppose that this place must have been near Jabulpur from where the Narmadā begins to flow, and near which there is a colossal figure carved out of stone on the summit of the Sātapuḍā ranges. (For details vide the account of Priyadarśin). The ceremony of entering into holy orders is generally performed in a wood or at the foot of a mountain. (See the paragraph:—"Importance of Śuklatīrtha" in the account of Bindusār).

(147) J. O. B. R. S. III, pp. 452. Mr. Jayaswāl says.—"I see no reason why we should not accept the Jaina claim that Chandragupta at the end of his reign accepted Jainism and abdicated and died a Jaina ascetic".

E. H. I. Pp. 144.—"I am disposed to believe that Chandragupta really abdicated and became a Jaina ascetic". Hemachandra, V, 144:—

"Samādhimaraṇam Prāpya divam yayan". Read the pages 156 above.

* There were twelve thousand monks? We can well imagine the number of the laity. When Mahāvīr died, the number of his disciples (monks) was 14000. Saṁgha means a very large group of pilgrims going together to a particular place of pilgrimage. Chandragupta started such one with Girnār as his destination, when he got the lake Sudarśan dug. The Jains are very fond of starting such Saṁghas, and they have been doing so all these years.

The whole of southern India was under his suzerainty; the king of Āndhra was his vassal (that is why the Āndhra kings were called Āndhrabhrtayās.) Hence Bhadrabāhu and Chandraguata[148] travelled with complete freedom and reached Śravaṇ Belgol ( in the Chittaldūrga district in Mysore). Two peaks here are reminiscent of this event. On the higher one, Bhadrabāhu observed penance and fasted unto death, and on one of the smaller Chandragupta, and it is yet known as Chandragiri. Bhadrabāhu died in A. M. 170 or B. C. 357, and Chandragupta twelve years later in A. M. 182 or B. C. 345[149]. The Siddhapuri–Brahamgiri inscriptions of Priyadarśin stand there till to-day perpetuating these great events.

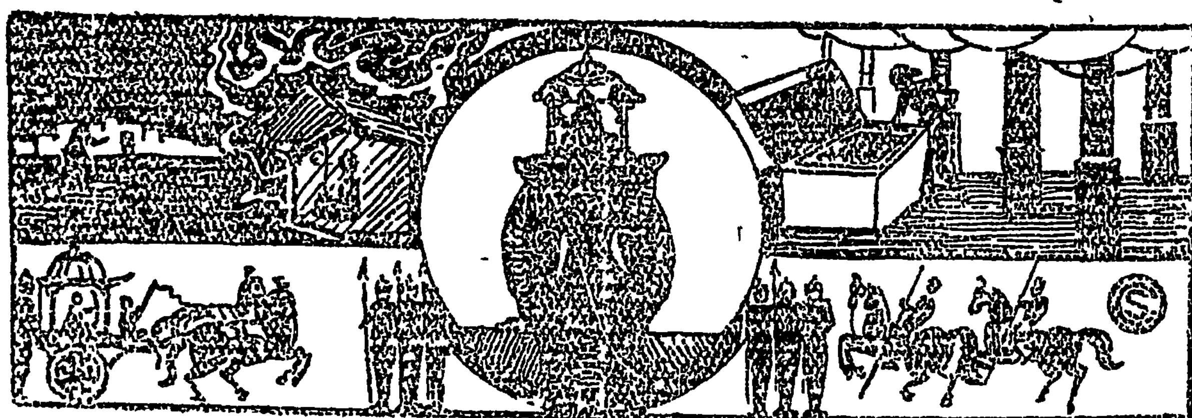
There are three colossal stone-idols in this district:—one in the town of Tripuram, and two on these two peaks; one of which is of Bhadrabāhu representing him in the Kausagga (comtemplative) position at the time of his death. The idol in Tripuram was erected at the place where Bhadrabāhu asked his disciples to stop, and from where started with Chandragupta and one other monk to observe penance and fast unto death on the hill[150]

(148) He had entered the Jaina holy orders by this time.

(149) The Bombay Samāchār–Divālī number–1923, pp. 197; Dr. Hariprasād Desāi:—"Twelve years later Chandragupta followed his preceptor by fasting unto death".

Cf. paragraphs above: "The duration of his life and of his reign."

(150) For more details vide the account of Priyadarśin.



# Chapter VI

## Chandragupta (*Contd.*); and Bindusār

*Synopsis:—Some important passages from Arthaśāstra—Its comparison with modern political and economic doctrines—Means provided for the protection of the kingdom—Military organization of those times.—*

*Bindusār—his life and its duration—His queens and children—Various names of Bindusār and their meanings—last years of Chāṇakya—the place where he died and some novel details in connection with it—The duration of his life—Condition of Mauryan empire after his death—Rebellions in various provinces and political jealousies—Incentive to Alexander's ambition to invade India.*

Arthaśāstra has attracted scholars of all kinds and climes by its comprehensiveness and compactness. Several of them have synthesized, systematized or compared and criticized the book or certain portions of the book.[1]. Readers who want to go into details are recommended these books. Here we shall rest content with quoting certain important extracts which will give the reader some idea of the indescribable wealth of thought that the book contains.[2].

**Some political doctrines**

" An efficiently-conducted[3] revenue department is essential for increasing and maintaining a steady amount of income. Chandragupta had opened this department The highest posts were that of Mantri and Purohit , as recommended in Arthaśāstra.

These two ministers conducted and supervised the actions of the council as well as those of the king. Chāṇakya has addressed the king : " Oh Vrsal,[5]. (political power is of three kinds; absolute monarchy, ministerial, or a combination of both. The third kind of governmental system is adopted by you P. 166 ). " The king's power was from the first ( before even Arthaśāstra was composed) limited ( P. 177 ). The administration was conducted by 18

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(1) Some of the names of such books are.—

(1) "Maurya Sāmrājyakā Itihās" by Satyaketu Vidyālankār, chapters 7 to 13, pp. 149 to 415.

(2) "Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya" (Sayāji Series) by Mr. J. P. Jośipurā, M. A.

(3) "Arthaśāstra" by Jolly.

(2) K. A. J. Pref. pp. 15:—"Rules set down in "Arthaśāstra" prevailed in India in those times and all people observed them. Most of them are in force even to-day." Cf. vol. I. pp. 254 f. n. no. 21 and vol. I. pp. 337 f. n. no. 46.

(3) Numbers of pages refer to Satyaketu Vidyālankār's book.

(4) Chāṇakya managed both the posts at the beginning of Chandragupta's rule. According to "Mudrārākṣas", Rākṣas had been appointed to the prime-minister's post later on and Chāṇakya was the royal preceptor. (Jaina books state the name "Subandhu" instead of Rākṣas; they state that this change took place during the rule of Bindusār.)

(5) For its correct meaning vide pp. 170 f. n. no. 2).

ministers[6]. Sometimes courtezans were utilized for political purposes[7] (P. 244). High custom duties were levied on imports not especially with a view to protecting trade, but simply to fill the coffers of the state. Foreign trade was encouraged in various ways; but precautions were taken to protect indigenous industries; while many means were devised to encourage exports[8] (P. 246). Various taxes were levied on commodities exchanged in the kingdom itself (P. 246, 251). The government had provided for the compensation of goods lost, destroyed or stolen, by an ingenious system of insurance. Not many direct taxes were levied. Some taxes were levied only in times of financial stringency; for example on:—(1) Units of weight, (2) Gambling, (3) Prostitutes, (4) Public-show-men. There was no license system at that time.

Interest was paid on capital (P. 256). All kinds of arms and ammunitions were manufactured in India[9]; and thus Indians had not to rely upon any foreign nation for the provision of arms. (P. 257) Prices of commodities were always regulated with a view to the general welfare of the people, and no kind of favouritism was allowed. (P. 262). Megasthenes says[10] that very few crimes were committed during the Mauryan rule. The state conducted its own mint[11], which produced all kinds of coins, maintained a department for the discrimination of true and counter-

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(6) They are described as "Tīrtha" in Rāmāyaṇ. Eighteen of them are stated below:—Mantrī, Purohit, Samāhartā, Sannidhātā, Senāpati, Yuvarāj, Pradeṣṭā, Nāyak, Vyavahārik, Kārmāntik, Mantrīpariṣadādhyakṣa, Daṇḍapāl, Durgapāl, Antapāl, Paura, Praśāsṭṛ, Āntarveśik, Dvārik, Āṭravik.

(7) Cf. vol. I. pp. 21. Extract from M. S. I. pp. 394 and footnotes which are quoted ante on Pp. 200.

(8) That duty was reserved for "Paṭṭanādhyakṣa."

(9) Vol. I. Pp. 338; details as to how Śakadāl managed to manufacture arms in his own house.

(10) Megasthenes came to India during the rule of Aśoka. Mr. Satyaketu has erred here in common with other scholars in taking him to be a contemporary of Chandragupta on the authority of the wrong hypothesis of Sandrecottus' identity with Chandragupta.

(11) That Chandragupta had struck his coins is proved here. (Chapter on coins; nos. 68, 71.)

feit coins and stamped coins for any one who paid in metal (P. 263). Poor houses were started and maintained[12] (P. 267), and donors were conferred honorary titles in appreciation of their charities[13] (P. 271). If a state servant died while in service, pensions were given to his wife and children, and various facilities were extended to them (P. 278). Travelling allowances and other allowances were given to servants over and above their regular salaries (P. 275). All educational departments and institutions were conducted by the state, and that is why Kautalya has alluded to it in the very beginning by calling it "Dev-pūjā"[14] (P. 275). Many public activities were aided by the state (P. 278). Steps were taken to make soil as independent of rainfall as possible[15]. Various irrigational works were started, and wells were dug to make agricultural crops not dependent upon the oddities of monsoon (P. 281). There were windmills (P. 283). Various regions of the kingdom had various amounts of rainfall (P. 284). During Aṣādh and Āśvin $\frac{1}{3}$ of the rainfall, and during Śrāvaṇ and Bhādrapad $\frac{2}{3}$ of the rainfall-this should be the proper order (P. 289). Nurses for the sick and First-aid ambulances were provided for the army in times of war. Sanitation was fully attended to (P. 293); post mortem examinations were made (P. 294). Famine-relief funds and associations existed (P. 295). Most of the houses and buildings were made of wood and so, due precautions were taken to avoid fire (P. 298); and incendiarism was punished with death. Buildings were painted with chemical fluids which made them fireproof (302). According to Chāṇakya travelling by land is better than travelling by sea; though India had a powerful navy and a large number of trade-ships and pirates (P. 305, 309). Roads were built in all the four directions from Pāṭliputra. A mile (kośa) measured $2202\frac{1}{2}$ gajas[16] (P. 312).

(12) This was the duty of "Sūtrādhyakṣa."

(13) So the system of awarding titles and medals prevailed at that time also.

(14) It does not mean "Idol worship" as some writers have taken it to mean.

(15) "Not watered by rainfall only but by canals too"

(16) One Gaja=2 ft., so $2202\frac{1}{2}$ gajas=4405 ft=1 kośa. This does not fit in with the commonly believed length of a kośa which is equal to two miles.

High roads were 32 ft. 4 in. wide, while smaller roads were less wide (P. 317). The main occupation of the people was agriculture (P. 318). Farmers had two crops in a year, and were very prosperous (P. 323). Cloth was woven out of cotton, wool, jute and other fibres. There were spinning machines[17] (P. 324); and there were factories (P. 320). Silk was manufactured out of the barks and leaves of various trees in Magadh, Puṇḍra and Suvarṇakuṇḍya (P. 327). Chinese silk was the best. Cotton clothes were best manufactured in Madurā, Aprānta, Kaliṅg, Kāśi, Vaṅga, Vasta Māhiṣmati. There were small merchants as well as large firms[18] (P. 355). There were separate markets for separate commodities in the city (P. 364). People were classified into guilds and they were united[19] (P. 368). Magasthenes says: 'It is noteworthy about India that there were no slaves[20]. Strabo says:—"Megasthenes says that in the whole of India there was not a single slave"[21]. During the reign of Chandragupta, there were cities and towns of various sizes, called "pur", "nagar" "paṭṭaṇ" etc.[22] Cities were politically divided into four parts:—Saṅgrahaṇ (one in the centre of

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(17) The craft of spinning is thus age-old in India, and so must have been implements necessary for it. Cf. vol. I. pp. 253 f. n. no. 69.

(18) I believe there were no "Limited concerns" at that time.

(19) Vide the account of Śreṇik for details about the formation of guilds.

(20) Eng. version of Megasthenes' account, (pp. 69); cf. K. A. J. pp. 38.—"An Āryan can never be turned into a slave; Kauṭilya included Śudras among Āryas."

(21) Ibid. Pp. 71.

(22) K. S. S. Com. pp. 59:—

Ākara=those having mineral products about them.

Nagar=those free from taxation.

Kheṭa=those arround which there was mud-wall.

Karbaṭ=dirty towns.

Maṇḍap=Towns at a distance of half a yojan on all sides.

Droṇa=From which travel by land as well as by water is possible.

Paṭṭan=From which travel is possible either by land only or by water only.

Āśram=Place of pilgrimage.

Sambāha=Level pieces of ground.

Sanniveśa=Resting places for Saṅghas and armies.

ten villages); Khārvaṭik (one in the middle of 200); Droṇamukh (one in the middle of 400) and Sthānīya (one in the middle of 800) (P. 313). In cities, houses were built of brick and wood; fortresses were also built. The cities were large and prosperous (P. 376). There were mints with a system of free coinage (P. 378). No one could manufacture coins privately. It is not certain[23] whether there was any other means of exchange except coins; but Kautalya initiated Bills of exchange[24] (P. 378). Capital was borrowed on interest which was not allowed to accumulate and the rate of which was very high. It was 15 p. c. per annum on securities and even 60 p. c. and 120 p. c. ( to forest traders ) and 240 p. c. (to foreign traders)[25] (P. 382) According to Megasthenes the prosperity of India was shared by seven castes:—" (1) Fortune-tellers ( though few in number, they enjoyed the highest reputation); (2) Farmers (3) Shepherds (4) Artisans (5) Soldiers. ( They were second from the view-point of their number) (6) Observers (7) Members of the council and other officers. (The highest class of all in position and character, though smallest in number)". Kautalya mentions only four classes of society; he does not allude to castes. It is difficult to know on what grounds Megasthenes made the above statement[26]. He has also stated that a member of one caste could not marry with the member of another caste[27] and could not change his profession; a soldier could not take to farming, nor a a sculptor could become an astrologer ( P. 387 ) Polygamy was

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(23) Cf. chap. on coins.

(24) Pp. 41 f. n. no. 10.

(25) I suppose it to mean that the amount of interest was never allowed to exceed this figure· hence large sums were neither lent nor borrowed.

(26) This proves that Chāṇakya and Megāsthenes were not contemporary, which also proves that Chandragupta was not Sandrecottus, as has hitherto been believed.

(27) These rules were enforced with greater strictness after the rule of Śreṇik. They must have been very strictly observed during the rule of Nand II. (He is said to have been Kālāśok because of his marriage with a Śudra girl: for the real cause vide vol. I. pp. 318 & seq.). These rules seem to have been slackened during the rules of Bindusār and Aśok, though the first three classes were prohibited to marry a Śūdra.

allowed and people were allowed to keep women, with whom they were not married, but they were kept in their houses merely for flirtatious pleasure. Both men and women had the right to remarry (P. 390). Women were not allowed much freedom of movement and even veils were common (P. 394). The courtezan attending upon the king were paid 1000 paṇas[28] and they stood behind and added to the beauty of the king's umbrella, fans, pallanquin and chariot (P. 395). Gambling was allowed and there were gambling-dens (P. 390). Various gods were worshipped (P. 392); people were superstitious and were easily cheated by quacks and swindlers (P. 395). The property of the people was strongly protected and the general standard of morality was so high, that people kept their houses open in their own absence (P. 396). Census was taken every year not only of human but of animals as well (P. 410). The movements of foreigners were closely watched; the C. I. D. was efficiently conducted[29], and secret codes were used (P. 413). Even spies in employment did not know the meaning of several of them. Secret messages were conveyed by songs and through musical instruments; as well as through pegions." (P. 414).

Now we quote a passage from another writer[30], in order to supplement the first one:—

" Ambassadors were appointed to reside in foreign kingdoms in order to be in touch with the movements there. The heir-apparent plays an important part in Indian politics[31]. The king used to conduct the court of justice, and so absorbed was he at times that he took his meals in the court premises. Land was divided into three divisions:—tillable, pasture and rocky. The owner of land was called land-lord[32]. Soil could not be sold or

(28) The position of prostitutes was not so low as it is now.

(29) So there existed the C. I. D. People had begun to hoard money for its own sake. We have stated in vol. I. how the first cause of quarrel among mankind was woman, the second, land and the third, money.

(30) Baroda Sāhitya; Chandragupta, pp. 53 and further.

(31) Read the fore-going pages as to why Chandragupta got a palace built at Vidiśā.

(32) They were landlords only. Cf. vol. I., pp. 13.

mortgaged; it remained in possession of a farmer as long as he tilled it. The state accepted its share from the actual products of the soil[33] and hence during times of famine, farmers had to give nothing. The cities were divided into four parts and the villages into three. Towns free from taxation were called "Parihārak"; those supplying soldiers were called "Āyudhīya"[34]. Certain villages paid their taxes in the form of corn, cattle, raw material, free labour or the products of the cow. Every town had to accommodate 100 in the minimum and 500 in the maximum Śūdra families who tilled the soil. The boundaries of all villages, towns and cities were fixed and due records were kept of them. There were civil and criminal courts; known as "Dharmasthānīya" and "Kaṇṭakśodhan" respectively. Those appointed to the position of judge were first tested as regards the unimpeccability of their character. The revenue department was called Adhikaraṇ. Village pañchāyats arbitrated all local disputes as regards boundaries of fields etc. A difference of opinion among them was bridged over by consultation with a holy man. If the dispute did not end here, the disputed piece of soil was confiscated by the state. Forts were built for the protection of the kingdom. Forts built with water on all sides were called "Audak" and those with hills on all sides were called "Pārvat"[35].

The scale of remuneration per year or annuities to various state servants and members of the royal family was as follows:— (P. 269)[36] (the figures denote paṇas):—(A) The Sacrificial priest the preceptor, the minister, the royal priest, the commander-in-chief, the heir-apparent, the queen-mother, the chief queen-each 48000. (B) Dauvārik, Āntavimśik, Praśāstā, Samāhartā, Sannidhātā each 24000. (C) Prince, prince-mother, chief constable, social

(33) The reader can see which system is better.

(34) Cf. vol. I. Map no. 2, No. 25. Pp. 56. Its real name was 'Āyuddhās'; the scholars have confused it with "Ayodhyā."

(35) "Pārvatīya Pradeśa"=a hilly region. (Cf. Chandragupta defeated Nand IX, with the help of Vakragrīv, the king of a hilly region. (Vide ante p. 203.)

(36) M. S. I.

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minister, Kārmāṇtik, president of the council of ministers, Rāṣṭrapāl-Antapāl each 12000. (D) The chief of the guild, the chief of elephant-keepers, the chiefs of the horse-keepers and charioteers, and Pradeṣṭā, each 8000. (E) The heads of infantry, of cavalay, of charioteers, of deer-keepers; the Dravyapāl, the keeper of elephants, forest-officer and the charioteer-each 4000. (F) Anika-physician, horse-physician, vardhaki and yoniposak-each 2000. (G) Kārtāntik, Naimittik, Mauhūrtik, Paurāṇik, Sūta, Māṅgadh and others 1000 each. (H) Educated foot-soldier, and accountant 500 each.

Military expenses.—(P. 272)[37]:—

600000 Infantry-each 500
30000 Cavalry-each 500 to 1000.
9000 Elephant-warriors (each elephant was to accommodate three archers) 750 each.
8000 Chariot-warriors-2000 each[38]; each chariot was meant for two archers.

Thus the military expenses per year amounted to 36,50,58000 paṇas. Considering other minor expenses, the figure amounted to 40 crores.

Let us now turn to the functions of certain officers:—

Samāhartā:—His functions were those of the present revenue commissioner; Sthānik:—the officer just under the Samāhartā i. e. the collector. Each collector had subordinate officers who were called "Gopas"; every Gopa had five to ten villages under

(37) Rulers of India Series, Aśoka, pp. 16. "A magnificent fortified city, worthy to be the capital of a great kingdom,—the royal camp at the capital was estimated to contain 400,000 souls, and the efficient standing army numbering 600,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, 9000 elephants and a multitude of chariots, was maintained at the king's expense." This is the description of Pāṭaliputra.

(38) Every division of the army had its own general; these four generals were under the power of the Commander-in-chief. The general of chariot-warriors was called "Mahārathi." Sometimes these Mahārathes were appointed as governors of provinces. Queen Nāganikā's father was a Mahārathi, and he was appointed as a governor of Aṅga. Chuṭukānand and Mūlānand were Mahārathes during Nand's rule. They were appointed as governors of the Kārvār province in Deccan. (Coins no. 47-52).

his jurisdiction; and under every Gopa there were Grāmiks or Grāmiṇī i. e. the village head-men.

Pradeṣṭā was judge for the criminal cases; he worked under Samāhartā.

Pattanādhyakṣa:-Port-officer; Nāvadhyakṣa=Naval commander. There seems to have been no post like Director of Public Instruction, because there were no public schools[39]. Sītādhyakṣa was the agricultural officer; ( Strādhyakṣa was different post ), Ākārādhyakṣa=mining officer.

Sannidhāta=Treasurer; Varṣamān=measurer of rainfall; Akṣapaṭalādhyakṣa=Accountant general; under him Saṅkhyāyak= Accountant; Kāraṇik and Kārmīk=ledger clerks; Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa= Mint Officer; Rūpdarśak=Currency officer; Suvarṇādhyakṣa=Precious metal-supervisor in the mint; Koṣtāgārādhyakṣa=Steward; Paṇyādhyakṣa=Director of Commerce; Kupyādhyakṣa=Forest officer; Pautavādhyakṣa=Weight officer; Āyudhāgārādhyakṣa=Ammunition and Fortification officer; Śulkādhyakṣa=Custom officer. Sūtrādhyakṣa= Labour Minister; this officer supervised the manufacture of cotton, silk and woolen goods, and provided employment for widows, orphans and other such persons; he might have been the same as Strādhyakṣa of the rock-inscription of Samprati, over and above these there were numerous other posts.

Now we give English equivalents for certain official terms of those times:—

Dharmasthānīya=Civil court.

Kanṭakaśodhan=Criminal court.

Padik=head of ten foot-soldiers.

Senāpati=head of ten padikas.

Nāyak=head of ten Senāpaties.

Yukta=Government prosecutor.

Upyukta=Assistant prosecutor.

Tatpuruṣa=servant.

Pārvat=Fort built on a hill. (cf. p. 201, f. n. no. 35 )

Audak=Fort built with water on all sides.

Bhṛtak=Auxiliary force.

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(39) K. A. J. Pp. 58.

Agniyogachurṇa=Gunpowder.

Pattibaḷa=Infantry.

Chārak–Policeman.

Parihārak=A village free from taxation.

Āyudhīya=Village supplying soldiers, ( cf. "Āyuddhās, vol. I. p. 61 and f. n. no. 34 above.)

## BINDUSĀR

After Chandragupta's abdication, his son Bindusār ascended the throne. He was very young at that time[40]. Various kings are known in history by a name[41] which is quite different from their original name. We know how this king was named Bindusār (p. 117). We are not definite about what name he assumed after his accession to the throne. In "Rājāvalikathā" by Devchandra (1938) "Siṁhasen" is stated to have been the name of Chandragupta's successor. Another historian[42] has stated on the authority of Vāyupurāṇ that his name was Bhadrasār. In the Āmnāya book of the Jaina Svetāmbar sect, he is said to have been named as Amitraketu. His name, on the other hand was never Amitragahāt, as many historians have stated it to have been. Amitraghāt was the successor of Sandrecottus. We have proved that Sandrecottus was not Chandragupta but Aśoka. Hence Amitraghāt was one of the names of Priyadārsin, Aśoka's successor.[43].

**Bindusār: his various names**

Born during the eighth month of pregnancy, Bindusār had a weak constitution throughout his life[44]. He was born in A. M. 156=B. C. 371. His reign lasted for 28 years[45]. (A. M. 169 to 196= B. C. 358 to 330). Hence he died nearly at the age of

(40) Baroda Library, Samprati Kathā, pp. 70.

(41) Bimbisār was named Śreṇik; Ajātaśatru was named Kuṇik; Nand II was named Kālāśok; Priyadarśin was named Samprati, and so on.

(42) C. D. Pp. 11.

(43) Vide the account of Priyadarśin.

(44) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. Pp. 88.

(45) Vāyupurāṇ states 25 years.

41[46]. The reins of the empire were assumed by him at the age of 13[47]. Some writers say that he had sixteen queens and one hundred sons[48]. This theory fits ill with his weak condition and his short life; though one might have no objection to believing that he might have married with several girls in the prime of his youth[49]. The name of his eldest son was Suman[50], and that of the youngest was Tiṣya[51]. Three years after Bindusār ascended the throne, a brahmin from Kāśī, married his beautiful daughter, Pṛthvitilakā, with him[52]; Aśoka was born of her[53] in about A. M.

**His life and family**

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(46) See Chandragupta, Pari. Parva VIII, trans. pp. 184.

(47) Cf. pp. 122, f. n. no. 144 above.

(48) "Aśoka" by Vincent Smith. pp. 206. (on the authority of Mahāvaṁśa; M. S. I., pp. 133).

If we take this to mean that the successor of Sandrecottus had sixteen queens, then it means that Priyadarśin had that number of queens, because we have proved that Sandrecottus was Aśoka. Priyadarśin had really many queens and many children.

(49) Writers have credited Śreṇik too, with 100 sons; while in reality, he had only 18 to 20, even though he had a robust constitution and a long life.

(50) Some books state the name as "Susimā." (M. S. I. pp. 429.) Probably Suṣimā and Suman were both elder brothers and Aśoka was the third. (See f. n. no. 48.

(51) F. n. no. 48 above.

(52) Baroda Library, Samprati Kathā, pp. 79; R. K. M. Aśoka, pp. 2— "The mother of Aśoka is Subhadrāngī, the beautiful daughter of a brāhmin of Champā. Southern traditions call her Dharmā."

Some scholars are of the opinion that Nand II had given cause of anger to Brāhmins by marrying a Śūdra girl (though I have proved in vol. I. pp 318 & seq); that this must not have taken place, they also say that, objection was raised to Aśoka's accession to the throne, because his mother was a Brāhmin. Though, as far as I believe, people at that time freely allowed intercaste marriages, yet, when it concerned the accession to a throne, there were some difficulties. The ministers objected to Aśoka's accession on two grounds — (1) Aśoka was not the eldest son. He was again ugly-looking and of a haughty temperament. (People at this time had almost no voice in the government.) (2) The eldest son was murdered and the two elder brothers were alive.

175=B. C. 352. No definite details are available about any other queens or children.

When Bindusār ascended the throne at the age of 13[54], his prime-minister[55] was Subandhu—Sumati[56]. He thought that as long as Chāṇakya was alive, it was impossible for him to have all the power to himself. Hence he began to persuade the king[57] that Chāṇakya had murdered his mother. The king, young and hasty as he was, decided to do away with Chāṇakya. Almost at this time Chandragupta's death took place and Chāṇakya, who lost all interest in things terrestrial, relinquished the post of his own accord. He was about eighty by this time, and he wanted no blot on his stainless career. Hence he retired and began to stay[58] outside the city. A few months later, the king came to know from his nurse that Chāṇakya was the saviour of his life and that he had killed his mother in order to keep him alive. Repenting his past conduct, he approached Chāṇakya in an humble attitude and requested him to take charge of his original

**Chāṇakya's death**

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Of these, one was very recently killed while trying to suppress a rebellion in the Punjab. The second was probably murdered by Aśoka. In Greek history Aśoka's early life has been described as "humble".

(53) Aśoka=( A+śoka; A=not śoka or śokya=a sister-queen ); Aśoka literally means a queen who has no sister-queens. Though this queen had several, yet the king remained wholly attacher to her.

(54) Vide Vol. I. P. 30 with f. n. nos. 64, 65 & 66.

(55) Pariśiṣṭha parva:—The name is Sumati. (Cf. f. n. no. 4 above).

(56) "Mantrī" and "Purohit", viz. Prime-minister and Royal preceptor, were different positions enjoyed by different persons. (Pp. 195 above and f. n. no. 4). Chāṇakya combined both of them and enjoyed them. Then again Subandhu was appointed as prime-minister, while he retained the preceptorship. (F. n. no. 59 below).

(57) B. L. Samprati Kathā; pp. 59, 70.

(58) Chāṇakya had a box locked with 100 locks. Some say that there was a succession of box within box upto hundred. In the box he had kept a chemical, fragrant substance. Whoever smelt it once, lost all control over his nerves. When Subandhu opened this box, he became a nerve-less idiot, and spent the rest of his life in a miserable condition. He had taken away the box before setting fire to the hut. (Pariśiṣṭha parva : Trans.).

post. Chāṇakya politely refused the offer. The king began to frequent the abode of Chāṇakya, much to the chagrin of Subandhu[59]. Hence he once requested the king to let him accompany him to the hermitage, and while Chāṇakya was absorbed in contemplation, set fire to the hut. Resorting Samlekhanā, Chāṇakya died.[60].

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(59) J. N. I. Pp. 139:—was supplanted by Subandhu. Hemachandra VV, 436–459).

(60) Ibid. Pp. 71; Pariśiṣṭaparva : Chāṇakya was born about A. M. 98; he died about A. M. 180 at the age of 82.

General Cunningham writes on pp. 142, Bhilsā Topes.—"It is said in Agnipurāṇ.( Princeps Journal IV, 688 ) that Vikram, the son of Gadharup, should ascend the throne of Mālvā, seven hundred and fifty-three years after the expiration of Chāṇakya." The father of Vikram, the founder of the Vikrama era, was Darpana. He had mastered the Gardabhī lore. Vikram ascended the throne in 57 B. C. (vol.·III). Counting back date 753 years, the date of Chāṇakya's death comes to B. C. 696—the date which is quite impossible, because Chāṇakya lived during the 4th century B. C.

Hence it is reasonable to conclude that "753" is the result of a scribe's error, and we may just reverse the order of digits and have it "357". Counting back, we get 357+57=414 B. C. which in no way agrees with the dates of Chāṇakya, which have been already fixed and proved. If we take the other alternative of reading the figure as "375", we get 375+57=432 B. C.; and if we take this year to be the year of his birth—not of his death—we can have 350 B. C. as the year of the death of Chāṇakya, as it really was. Thus he died during the eighth year of the rule of Bindusār. (In the chap. on coins, I have stated 13th year, which is wrong).

General Cunningham holds the opinion that, Vikramāditya, who ascended the throne of Mālvā, belonged to the Gupta dynasty, in which there were two kings named Chandragupta. The first ruled from A. D. 320 to 330, and the second from 375 to 483 A. D. The second's name was Vikramāditya also, however his father's name was not Gadharup, but Samudragupta; while the name of the father of the first was Ghatotkacha. The Gupta Era was founded in 319 A. D., during the rule of the first, though the second was a valorous king. Calculating back from their dates we do not come to the right date of Chāṇakya, and hence we have to give up the figure "753" altogether, and take "375" as the right one. Ghaṭotakacha was the name of the son of Bhīma, one of the Pāṇdavas.

Thus Chāṇakya was born in 432 B. C.; and he died in 350 B. C. at the age of 82.

**Śuklatīrtha and its importance**

It is certainly a matter of regret that few details are known about Chāṇakya, though he was[61] "The first economist of India, if not of the whole world"[62] and though one writer has called him "King maker."*

A certain writer says:—" Tradition represents the ' wicked minister ' as having repented and retired to Śuklatīrtha on the banks of the Narmadā, where he died; Chandragupta is also supposed to have accompained him ( cf. Smith 175 f. n. 1. ). Śuklatīrtha is the exact equivalent of Belagol which in Kanarese means " white pond ".

Now there are two places bearing the name Śuklatīrtha. One is situated in the Mysore state, and the other on the other banks of the Narmadā. We know definitely that Chandragupta ended his days at Belagol in Mysore. Śuklatīrtha, 30 to 35 miles from Broach, is at presnt a centre of Ārya-samājist activity and a place of pilgrimage for the followers of the Vedic religion. It is the place where stands that magnificent and well-known banyan tree-Kabir-vada. Did Chāṇakya spend his last days here ? Probably not, for two reasons. In the first place it could not have provided seclusion enough to Chāṇakya; and secondly Chāṇakya must naturally have chosen some place, to which was attached some sacred significance of the faith that he followed—Jainism. There certainly was a place, on the banks of the Narmadā near Jabbulpore, where stand now white boulders, making the whole region appear very white. Again the place is ideally solitary. Moreover, not far from it are the Rupnāth rock-inscription of Priyadarśin[63], and Campānagarī[64] first the capital of Dadhivāhan of Aṅga[65] and then destroyed by Śatāṇik of Vatśa[66]. It was

(61) Jainism in North India, by C. J. Shah, pp. 139.

(62) It means that he was the economist of the first rank, not the first.
* Pp. 189 f. n. no. 128.

(63) For details vide the account of Priyadarśin; also Vol. I. Pp. 374.

(64) Vol. I. Account of Ajātśatru.

(65) Vol. I. Pp. 45 and 111.

(66) Vol. I. Pp. 136.

also the place where the twelfth Tīrthaṅkar, Vasupūjya[67] was born, entered into holy orders, attained Kaivalya, and died[68]. This place must have been selected by Chāṇakya for these reasons. It was under the power of Magadh. One, colossal stone-image is standing at this place, details about which are given in the account of Priyadarśin.

**His religion**

According to Buddhist books he was a follower of the Vedic faith.[69]; while Mr. Thomas says:—[70] " We may conclude for all present purposes that Bindusār followed the faith of his father and that in the same belief whatever it may prove to have been–his childhood's lessons were learnt by Aśoka."[71]. In sort he was a Jaina.

**The extent of his territory**

A weak man himself, and devoid of the efficient help of Chāṇakya, Bindusār began to lose what his father had conquered[72]. Śatakarani Malik, the fourth Āndhra king of the Śātavahan dynasty, disowned the paramountcy of Magadh, and declared himself independent, changing his title from Āndhrabhṛtya

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(67) Vol. I. Pp. 279 (f n. no. 13) and 345.

(68) Vol. I. For the page references see the index.

(69) The Bhilsā Topes, pp. 98:—"Bindusār was a follower of Brahminism and used to feed daily 60,000 Brāhmins. Aśoka dismissed them."

This may be applied to Priyadarśin also, whose religious tolerance and charitable disposition are well-known.

(70) Jainism on early life of Aśoka, (Edward Thomas), pp 23. (J. N. I. pp. 139.)

Nāgarī Prachā. Sabhā Patrikā, vol. X, no. 4, pp. 612, f. n. no. 26— "Mr. Thomas proves that Chandragupta, Bindusār and even Aśoka were Jains. He has quoted Mudrārākṣas, Rājataraṅginī and Āine Akabarī in support of his statement."

(71) Coins nos. 54, 67, 68 etc.

(72) Cf. f. n. no. 77 below. Scholars have described him as awe-inspiring and holding sovereign sway over even South India (E. H. I. 3rd edn. pp. 157: Pandit Tārānāth, and M. S. I. pp. 426) If we take Sandrecottus as Aśoka, as he really was, the description is applicable to Priyadarśin, which it really is. (For details vide his account).

to Āndhrapati.[73]. The Governors of the Punjāb and Sindh began to quarrel with each other, and rose into rebellion. Aśoka was appointed as the governor of Ujjain. (A. M. 188 B. C. 339)

Two Punjāb chiefs—Āmbhi of Taxilā and Poras of Sutlaj[74] rebelled in A. M. 192=B. C. 335. Bindusār sent his heir-apparent who suppressed the rebellion. They rose into mutiny again[75] and this time the heir apparent was killed in the battle. Then Aśoka was sent there. Hardly had he dealt a crushing defeat to the mutineers, when news came from Magadh that Bindusār died of the bursting of a blood-vessel in his brain[76] (A. M. 197=B. C. 330). Hence he hurried forth to Pāṭliputra.

During Bindusār's weak regime, misrule prevailed in Magadh as well as in provinces[77]. News of this weak condition of India reached the ears of the Greek emperor Alexander, who had conquered and subdued almost all countries situated between Greece (Macedonia) and India[78]. He had heard of the fabulous wealth of India. So in B. C. 327, his armies marched over the western banks of the Indus. (Details of foreign invasions will be given in a separate chapter).

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(73) Coins nos. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61. They belong to Āndhrapatis; while nos. 62, 63 belong to Āndhrabhṛtyas.

(74) Scholars take him to have been a descendant of the Vatsas of Kausāmbī.

(75) There were two risings in the Punjāb. (M. S. I. pp. 429, Divyāvadān).

(76) The Bhilsā Topes, pp. 96:—"He in the midst of a fit of passion burst a blood-vessel and died."

(77) Aśoka (Rulers of India Series) pp. 104.—"The records of Alexander's invasion disclose the existence of a multitude of independent states, governed either by rajahs or tribunal oligarchies, constantly at war with one another and free from all control by a superior power."

(78) The Acheimenidai dynasty of the Persian emperors ended in B. C. 331, by the battle of Arabelā. We can conclude from this that Alexander must have conquered this territory.

The Arseidai dynasty was established in Persia in 250 B. C. In the 81 years that intervened (331-250=81), Persia was under the power of Alexander's generals for some time, and then under the power of emperor Samprati.



# Chapter VII

## India under foreign rule

**Synopsis:**—*Rebellious atmosphere in the Punjāb at the time of Bindusār's death—Alexander's intention to take advantage of the opportunity—Extracts from Megasthenes' diary in relation to the theory that Sandrecottus was Chandragupta—Points arising from it—Two events from the political career of Aśoka—Alexander's arrangement for the government of conquered territories before he left India—Decisions of the political assembly established in Macedonia after Alexander's death, in connection with India—Political relations of Āmbhi and Pauras with foreign rulers—Dissentions and quarrels among the Greek and the Indian generals.—Rebellions in the Punjāb—Aśoka's subjugation of the Punjāb and the slaughter of Yavanas—Invasion of Seleucus Necator on this account—His eighteen unsuccessful invasions—His humiliating treaty with the Indian emperor—Peaceful atmosphere in the Punjāb and the marriage of the daughter of Seleucus Necator with the Indian emperor—His departure from India—Conclusion.*

The generally accepted theory that Sandrecottus was Chandragupta, has given rise to many confusions and twisted accounts in the history of India.[1] We have already proved that Chandragupta was not Sandrecottus, and that it was Aśoka who confronted the Greek emperor.

**India and foreigners**

Alexander the great invaded India in 327 B. C., and having subdued some portions of the Punjāb, stayed there for some time. Here he had occasion to meet Sandrecottus, who was at that time in the prime of his youth[2]. Later on he departed from India and died on his way to Greece in June, 323 B. C.[3] We know that Bindusār died in 330 B. C.[4], and that he was succeeded by Aśoka, who was not crowned on the throne for four years, on account of certain domestic reasons. Thus the date of his coronation to the throne in 326 B. C.[5] The reader will thus see that it was Aśoka who met the Greek emperor in the Punjāb[6], though he had not ascended the throne at that time[7].

Let us now quote an extract from Justin[8]. " Seleucus waged many wars in the east after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals[9]. He first took Babylonia, and then with his forces, augmented by victory, subjugated the Bactrians. He then

(1) For illustrations vide the account of Aśoka.

(2) J. R. A. S. 1932, April, pp. 277. Statement of Plutarch:—"Androkottos himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander himself."

(3) E. H. I. 3rd pp. 116:—"His death in June, 323 B. C."

(4) See the chronological list on pp. 146 and pp. 204.

(5) Vide his account.

(6) This proves that Sandrecottus was Aśoka.

(7) J. R. A. S. 1932, April, pp. 275, f. n.:—"The word Deinde seems to indicate that the war with Alexander's officers followed the usurpation." This agrees with what we have stated above.

(8) Pompei Trogi XV, 4 : as translated by Mr. Crindle Principal, Patna College. (See Prof. Hultzsch Corp. Inscr. Indic. Pt. I. Pref. xxxiii.).

(9) Cf. J. R. A. S. 1932, April number, which will make clear that Mr. Crindle's statement agrees with that of this writer.

passed over to India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrecottus[10] had been the leader who achieved their freedom; but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny, all title to the name of liberator, for, having ascended the throne[11], he oppressed with survitude the very people[12], whom he had emancipated from foreign thraldom[13]. He was born in humble[14] life, but was prompted to aspire to royality by an omen[15], significant of an august destiny. For, when by insolent behaviour[16], he had offended king Nandrus[17], and was ordered by that king to be put to death[18], he had sought safety by a speedy flight[19]. When he lay down, overcome with fatigue and

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(10) All episodes narrated here tally with those that took place in the life of Aśoka.

(11) He had seized the throne in 330 B. C., though his coronation ceremony was performed in 326 B. C.

(12) This means that he established his own power over the territory from which he drove away the Greeks. (B. C. 317, as we shall see later on).

(13) Buddhist books contain descriptions of his massacres through "Narkālay."

(14) This shows that he was not direct heir to the throne, but secured it by his good fortune.

(15) This shows that his coronation ceremony was performed some years after his seizing the throne; cf. the statement at the end of f. n. no 52, pp. 206.

(16) Buddhist books describe Aśoka as insolent. Politically interpretted, however, it means that he was firm in attitude and strict in the enforcement of his rules (cf. 18 below).

(17) Older manuscripts have the word "Alexandrum" in place of this word. (Pref. by Prof. Hultz). This is the right word, because there could have been no reason why Greek history should contain any reference to a war between two Indian kings. Again, Nand had died 45 years before Alexander's invasion. This will show that scholars have twisted facts in order to support the spineless theory of Sandrecottus having been Chandragupta instead of Aśoka.

(18) This proves that Alexander must have been of a haughty temperament.

(19) Bravery does not mean fool-hardiness, or needlessly exposing one's self to heavy odds. To offer resistance would have been ruinous folly on the part of Aśoka. That he sought safety in flight is an indication of his wisdom

had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion[20] of enormous size, approaching the slumberer, licked with its tongue, the sweat which oozed profusely from his body; and when he awoke, quietly took its departure[21]. It was this prodigy which first inspired him, with the hope of winning the throne[22], and so having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government.[23] When he was there, preparing to attack Alexander's prefects[24], a wild elephant[25] of monstrous size approached him and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant, received him on its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrecottus having thus won the throne[26], was reigning over India[27], when Seleucus was laying the foundation of his future greatness. Seluecus having made a treaty with him[28] and otherwise settled his affairs in the east, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonus."

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and is no adverse reflection upon his courage. This incident throws much light upon the character of Alexander, who had no scruples in ordering a single, defenceless person, whom he had invited, and who had come to his camp unarmed and unattended, to be killed.

(20) I believe that Buddhist books must be containing this episode, thus irrefutably proving that Sandrecottus was Aśoka.

(21) Certainly an instance of a behaviour indicating spiritual influence.

(22) Though he had seized the throne in 326 B. C. yet he was not sure whether he would be able to settle himself as an emperor. Now his prospects began to brighten.

(23) By this time Greek power had already been established in India. After Alexander's death, a council was formed (B. C. 322) which managed the administration of Greek in India (f. n. no. 24). So this took place in 322 B. C.

(24) The words "Alexander's prefects" show that Alexander was dead by by this time. So this took place after 323 B. C. (f. n. no. 23).

(25) This incident took place in 322 B. C.; while the lion incident took place in 326 B. C. (See the chronological list at the end of this book).

(26) I. e. by establishing his power over the territory which was before that under the Greek power.

(27) I. e. as emperor of the whole of India, because the foreigners were driven away.

(28) For terms of the treaty vide his account. Aśoka's behaviour was very generous towards him.

The above-given narration fits exactly with the events that took place in the life of Aśoka. He visited the Greek emperor on invitation, but finding his bearing haughty and insulting, retaliated in the same manner; upon which the emperor ordered his men to arrest and kill him on the spot. Aśoka, however, sought safety in flight. Then took place the incident of the lion, after which he instigated Indians[29] against the Greek power, and was about to attack Alexander's prefects when the incident of the elephant took place. Historians hold the view[30] that his prefects were at peace with one another as long as the emperor was alive, but began to quarrel with one another soon after his death. (323 B. C.)[31]. We know that Seleucus ruled from 331 to 280 B. C.[32] So the rebellions in the Punjāb must have taken place between 321 to 312 B. C.

It is interesting to discuss why the Punjāb was the centre of rebellious activities for nearly twenty-five years between 327 to 304 B. C.—when peace terms were concluded between Seleucus and the Indian emperor.[33]. Democratic form of Government existed in Northern India, and especially in the Punjāb during those times; but it was not quite uninfluenced by monarchy[34]. The Punjāb had been conquered by Nand IX, and continued to be peaceful under the suzerainty of Magadh during the wise rule of Chandragupta and Chāṇakya. With the accession of Bindusār

(29) I. e. the Indians were instigated against the rule of a foreign power.

(30) E. H. I. 3rd, pp. 116'—"It is certain that news spread everywhere of the death of the Macedonian emperor. As soon as the season became favourable, there was a great rising in India; thus ended the Greek power."

J. R. A. S. 1932, April,:—"After Alexander's death, attempts were made to overthrow the Greek power."

(31) This incident took place after the second rising in 317 B. C., and not in 322 B. C. We shall prove this later on.

(32) Vol. III. A writer dates the establishment of the Seleucus dynasty from 312 B. C. (Vol. I., pp. 100 f. n. no. 10), but the most likely date is 3[illegible] B. C. (Read further in this chap.).

(33) Vide the account of Aśoka.

(34) F. n. no. 39 below.

to the throne, who had married a brahmin girl[35] who gave birth to Aśoka, the Magadha empire began to loose its grasp over the territories, and especially over the Punjāb. Chāṇakya had already retired and Subandhu had stepped into his shoes, but without the former's tact and statesmanship[36], with the result that a rebellion was engineered in the Punjāb by the governor himself, Bindusār sent his eldest son to suppress it, and he did so at first[37]. When the people of the Punjāb rose again into mutiny, he became a victim to a conspiracy and was murdered[38]. Then Aśoka, who was governor of Ujjain at that time, was sent there. Hardly had he suppressed the rebellion, when Bindusār died on the bursting of a blood-vessel. He hastened to Pāṭliputra and seized the throne, though the ministers first hesitated to accept him as king, because of his being born of a brahmin, i.e. a non-kṣatriya mother[40]. The ministers could not decide the problem for some time. In the meanwhile, riots again broke out in the Punjāb, and Alexander invaded India and occupied some portions of the country ( 327 B. C. ). He defeated king Āmbhi of the Taxillā region, but his further progress was checked at the region between the Chināb and the Rāvī by king Paurus, who fought bravely against him. At last he was treacherously betrayed by his own men, and was defeated. Both Āmbhi and Paurus acknowledged the tutelage of Alexander, who stayed in India for a

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(35) Cf. the origin of the Āndhra dynasty; and pp. 205 f. n. no. 52.

(36) Details have already been given in the account of Bindusār.

(37) Several risings took place in the Punjāb during these years; of them these four were the greatest. Their dates are.—

(1) B. C. 334 } during the rule of Bindusār.
(2) B. C. 330 }

(3) B. C. 322 } during the rule of Aśoka.
(4) B. C. 317 }

(5) There was probably a rising during the beginning of Priyadarśin.

(38) Priyadarśin has got rock-inscriptions erected at Manserā and Śāhbāzagrahi; I believe that he was murdered at one of these two places.

(39) There was monarchy everywhere else.

(40) Chap. VI, f. n. no. 48, 52.

while, and then departed from it, after making arrangement for the administration of the territory conquered by him. Let us quote a writer[41] for these arrangements:—" When Alexander left the bounds of India towards the end of 325 B. C. he made the following arrangements for his Indian territories:—

(i) Sind was put in charge of Pīthon, son of Agenor, upto the confluence of the Punjāb rivers with the Indus.

(ii) The territories north of this confluence, consisting of the conquered tribes of Malavas, Kśudrakas etc. were put in the charge of Philip. The kingdom of Taxillā, north of the satrapy of Philip, was under Āmbhi, who had helped Alexander so much during his Indian campaign, but Āmbhi's rule appears to have been under the military suzerainty[42] of Philip. Philip had a large army of occupation under him, consisting of Greek, Macedonian and Thracian soldiers. The Thracian soldiers were under an officer called Eudamos.

(iii) East of this was the kingdom of Paurus who had a large accession of teritorries to his original kingdom between the Jhelum and the Chenāb. He had submitted to Alexander, and had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Greek emperor.

(iv) North-west of the territories ruled over by Āmbhi and Philip was the satrapy of Paropanisidae under Oxyartes, Alexander's father-in-law.

In 324 B. C. Philip was murdered by some of his own troops. On receipt of the news, Alexander appointed Eudamos to succeed Philip until a more satisfactory arrangement could be made. He was to be responsible for the administration of Philip's extensive satrapy, conjointly with Āmbhi, king of Taxilā. Āmbhi had all along been a faithful partisan of the Greeks, and was much trusted.

In June 323 B. C. Alexander died at Babylon, and no permanent incumbent in Philip's place could ever be appointed.

Soon after Alexander's death, his generals met in council in Babylon, and devised a scheme of partition of the empire. The

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(41) J. R. A. S. 1932, April, pp. 279 and further.

(42) This shows that Alexander did not trust Indian chiefs, though Āmbhi was much trusted by the council, established after the death of Alexander.

Indian satrapies were, however, left as they had been arranged by Alexander. (V. A. Smith's Aśoka, p. I; Cambridge History Pp. 428 L. 23-8 ). So in this partition there was no change in the personal of the governors of Indian provinces and arrangements continued as outlined above.

In 321 B. C. there was an amended partition at Triparadeisos in Syria, under the leadership of Antipater. This partition shows some change.

(i) Pithon leaves Sindh, and is accommodated in some territory, west of the Indus and east of Paropanisidae.

(ii) Paurus is given a great accession of territory, his sphere of influence now extending all the way down the main stream to the sea. ( C. H. I. Pp. 498 ).

(iii) No attempt was made to curtail the power of Āmbhi and Paurus, as they were considered too powerful.

(iv) No mention is made of Eudamos but as he continued to stay in the country with his soldiers upto 317 B. C. and then had Paurus treacherously slain, seized his war-elephants and marched with all his forces out of India, we have no reason to assume that he did not continue to hold his acting satrapy and maintain his relationship with Āmbhi upto the year of 317 B. C. when he found India too hot for him.

Thus we find that the Greek authority and the Greek arrangement of government continued in the Punjāb and Taxilā upto about 317 B. C. and we do not hear a word about Chandragupta ( of course they mean Sandrecottus ) or anybody else's aggrandisement upto that date. ".

No doubt a lengthy statement, but at the same time lucid and comprehensive. Let us synthetise some of the facts:—

(1) Āmbhi:—The Greeks found in him a trustworthy representative of their power[43], though he was a traitor to India.

(2) Paurus was just the opposite. He resisted the intrusion of the foreigners as much as he could, but later on thought it wise to submit to the tutelage of a power which he found almost

(43) Cf. f. n. no. 42 above.

invincible. Alexander appointed his own general to keep himself informed of so independent-minded a chief. After his death, however, Pauras was given wider powers by the council.

(3) Eudamos was a faithful general appointed to keep a look over the movements of Āmbhi and Pauras. The council seems to have curtailed his powers, though we cannot say to what extent.

(4) Chandragupta is referred to neither by Alexander nor by the council[44].

Quarrels .and occasions for ill-feeling were not infrequent between Eudamos and Pauras A military-minded general, Eudamos tried to check all the rebellious activities of Pauras. When his powers were curtailed by the Council[45], his self-respect was wounded[46], and he tried to appease his anger by trying to exercise stricter control over Pauras, who, on the other hand, though he had submitted to the foreign power, was not without patriotic feelings towards his mother country, and who, moreover was a kṣatriya[47] of the first water, always ill at ease with himself as long as he was under the foreign yoke. At last, Pauras could no longer suppress his patriotic fire and rose into an open rebellion against the Greek power. Eudamos quickly seized the opportunity and got him murdered[48] and tried to suppress the mutiny in his territory[49] which extended from the Jhelam to the Chenāb. Āmbhi was of no use to him, devoid as he was of the fighting urge. Aśoka on the other hand, took advantage of the

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(44) This proves that the emperor of Magadh had not personally [illegible] the Punjāb during the eight years between 325 to 317 B. C. So the elephant incident took place after 322 B. C. (Cf. f. n. no. 25 above)

(45) i. e. He did not relinquish his power of his own accord.

(46) Cf. f. n. no. 45.

(47) Even Greek historians have praised the bravery of Pauras.

(48) J. R. A. S. 1932 pp. 283.—"The murder of Paurus by [illegible]. What led Eudamos to murder Paurus? It is [illegible], but it seems probable that the Indian revolt [illegible] of Paurus, whose [illegible] opposition to [illegible] Greek authorities, headed by Eudamos, was suspected. [illegible] Paurus his life."

opportunity, and began to march, with a large army towards the Punjāb. Seeing that it would do him no good to offer resistance to so powerful an emperor, Eudamos sought safety in flight through the territory of Āmbhi (B. C. 317). The rest of the Greek generals and soldiers were massacred by Aśoka[50].

The above-stated narration of events provides an adequate answer to the questions raised by a writer on Pp. 281 of the April number of J. R. A. S. His questions are:—

"Then when did it (aggrandisement) take place? When did Chandragupta in the words of Justin, 'prepare to attack Alexander's prefects, fought with them vigorously in front of the army on the back of a wild elephant and put the prefects to death?" Mr. Vincent Smith says:—[51] "But the officer, (Eudamos) had no adequate force at his command to enforce his authority, which must have been purely nominal." The reader will see that Mr. Smith's statement is quite true[52].

Thus ended the Greek power in India in 317 B. C. Seleucus Necator, a favourite general of the great emperor, had established his authority over Syria. He began to invade India to complete the task begun by his master. Between B. C. 316[53] to 305, he marched into India 18 times over, but had to retreat every time driven away by Aśoka. At last he was forced to come to terms with him[54], and married his daughter with Aśoka, and sent Megasthenes as an escort to her as well as his representative at the Indian Court. (B. C. 304).

Thus four rebellions took place in the Punjāb during the life-

(49) J. R. A. S. 1932, April, pp. 281:—"Eudamos continued practically to be the only Greek Satarap in India for eight years (324 to 317 B. C.), hemmed in between two powerful potentates, Āmbhi and Paurus."

(50) The Bhilsā Topes, pp. 87:—"The expulsion of the Greek forces and the slaughter of their chiefs". (Justin XV, 4).

(51) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 115; J. R. A. S. April, 1932, pp. 281.

(52) All these doubts owe their origin to the mistaken notion that Sandrecottus was Aśoka. For more instances, vide the account of Aśoka.

(53) Cf. f. n. no. 32 above.

(54) Vide the account of Aśoka.

time of Aśoka; two, during the rule of his father, and two during his own rule. His elder brother Suṣīma was murdered during the second rising. No member of the royal family was killed during the two risings that took place during his reign[55].

A Chronological list of foreign repercussions over India is given below:—

B. C.

330:—Death of Bindusār.

327:—Alexander's invasion; defeat of Āmbhi and Pauras; his meeting with Aśoka in his camp; Aśoka's flight and the licking of his body by the lion.

326:—Aśoka's accession to the throne of Magadh.

325:—(end) Alexander's departure from India.

324:—Philip's murder; Philip was a prefect appointed by Alexander, over the Punjāb. Eudamos' appointment to the same post.

323:—(June) Death of Alexander.

322:—Rebellion of the Greek generals in the Punjāb, and their slaughter.

321—20:—Seleucus Necator established his authority over Syria; new arrangements for India made by the council formed after Alexander's death.

317;—Pauras' murder, a great rising in the Punjāb. Aśoka's suppression of it, Eudamos' flight out of India; end of the Greek power in India.

316:—Establishment of the power of Aśoka in the Punjāb.

316-305:—Seleucus Necator's unsuccessful invasions over India.

304:—Necator forced to make a treaty with Aśoka; Aśoka's marriage with his daughter during the 26th year of his reign.

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(55) It will be seen that the theory, that his heir-apparent was murdered in this rising, is not true. This confusion is due to Sandrocottus being taken as Chandragupta. Aśoka himself was only 35 at the time of this rebellion, hence he could not have had a son old enough to be entrusted with the task of suppressing a rebellion

# Part 4

# PART 4

## MAURYAN DYNASTY (contd.)

I Chapter (3) Aśokavardhan

II Chapter (4) Priyadarśin

III Chapter Priyadarśin (contd.)

IV Chapter Priyadarśin (contd.)

V Chapter Appendices :

A Dharmāśoka

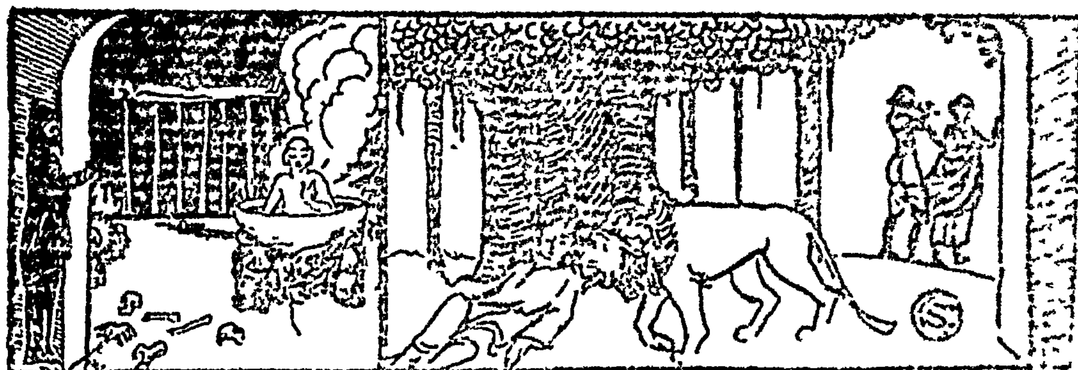
B Sudarśan

C Daśarath—Śāliśuk

D Jālauk—Dāmodar

VI Chapter Precipitate ownfall of the Mauryan empire

VII Chapter Conquests & defeats of the Mauryan emperors



# Chapter I

## Aśokavardhan

**Synopsis:**—*Details as to how Aśoka ascended the throne though he was not the heir-apparent—His reign divided into four parts from different points of view; the duration of his life—His various names and misunderstandings about them; his life during the four years before his accession to the throne—His meeting with Alexander; birth of his two sons—His infatuation for the newly-wed queen and change in religion on that account—Exact time of his rule, a subject of great controversy—His queens and children—His oppression of the heir-apparent on account of his infatuation for the queen—Relation between him and prince Daśarath—Cruelties perpetrated in Narlālay—Discussion as to whether Chandāśoka and Dharmāśoka were his names—His religion and his devoutness for it—The extent of his territory—Two incidents of his later life—The last phase of his life—Social conditions during his time—Were Aśoka and Priyadarśin names of the same individual?—His death, the date and place of his death.*

Aśoka succeeded Bindusār on the throne. It was a custom in those times to appoint the heir-apparent as the governor of Avanti[1]. Scholars have concluded that Aśoka must have been the heir-apparent[2] because he was appointed as the governor of Avanti. The converse was not, however, as we shall presently see, always true. Bindusār had sent his eldest son Suṣimā, the heir-apparent to suppress the rebellion in the Punjāb. Again, Aśoka was selected for the governorship of Avanti, because he was the most intelligent and capable of all his brothers[3].

**Was Aśoka the heir-apparent?**

Jaina books state that his reign lasted for 24 years, while Buddhist books declare that it lasted for 41 years. This divergence can be explained as follows:—

**The duration of his reign and of his life**

His political career can be divided into three parts:—[4].

(1) The first four years from B. C. 330 to 326 or A. M. 196 to 200, when his coronation ceremony was not performed[5].

(2) The next 24 years from B. C. 326 to 302 or A. M. 200 to 224, during which he ruled as an emperor of Magadh.

(3) The next 13 years from B. C. 302 to 289 or A. M. 224 to 237, during which he acted as regent to his grandson Priyadarśin, who was a minor. Thus 4+24+13=41.

The last nineteen years of his life[6] from B. C. 289 to 270 or A. M. 237 to 256[7], he spent in retirement and spiritual contem-

(1) Pp. 186, f. n. no. 110.

(2) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 156.—"He was no doubt selected by his father, in accordance with the usual practice as yuvarāj or crown-prince on account of his ability and fitness for the imperial succession."

(3) Pp. 205, f. n. no. 50 and 52.

(4) Read further the paragraph "Fixing of dates of his rule."

(5) Ibid.

(6) I. A. vol. 34, pp. 196, Mr. Burgess' view, while reviewing the 4th edi. of E. H. I.

(7) Rock-inscription of Sahasrām (B. C. 271, July, probably). Read further Art. no. 7 in the same paragraph as referred to in f. n. no. 4 above. Again paragraph on "His Death" at the end of this chapter.

plation. He died at the age of 82. Counting backwards, his birth-date can be fixed up as B. C. 352 or A. M. 174-5.

( Mr. Rockhill, on the authority of Tibetian manuscript, has stated that (P. 233 of his book), Aśoka's reign lasted for 54 years. This is due to identifying Sandrecottus with Chandragupta, because it is proved that the grandson of Sandrecottus ruled for 54 years. When we have already proved that Sandrecottus was Aśoka, we can say that his grandson, Priyadarśin ruled for 54 years, which in fact, he did. This also clears up the question as to whom the name " Dharmāśoka " can be applied. It can be applied to the grandson of Aśoka ( Sandrecottus ), namely, Priyadarśin. ( Appendix A, at the end of the book ).

**His various names**

His original name was Aśokachandra (P. 240 f. n. 53) After his accession to the throne he changed it into Aśokavardhan. Several confusions have arisen due to identifying Sandrecottus with Chandragupta. One of them is that Aśoka and Priyadarśin have been taken to be names of one and the same individual. As a consequence, all the rock-inscriptions, pillar-inscriptions and stūpas, for which Priyadarśin was responsible, have been ascribed to Aśoka[8], as a result of which, again, all these relics have been taken to have connection with Buddhism because Aśoka was a Buddhist, while they all are associated with Jainism, becanse, Priyadarśin himself was a Jain. Again it has become well-nigh impossible to give a connected account of foreign rule in India, subsequent to Alexander's invasion, because of starting with this false hypothesis[9]. Instances of such errors and blunders can be easily multiplied.

It is said that he was called " Kālāśoka " because he was dark in complexion; really speaking "Kālāśoka" was the name of

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(8) I have proved that Aśoka was the grandfather of Priyadarśin. The latter was a Jain and hence all pillar and rock inscriptions which go to his credit, are associated with Jainism. Proofs and pieces of evidence are given in support of this theory in the chapters on Aśoka and on Priyadarśin. For full details the reader is referred to my separate account of "Priyadarśin", about to be published by me.

(9) For more instances vide pp. 220-21, f. n. nos 52 and 55.

Nand II, Mahāpadma[10]. He has been called "Chaṇḍāśoka" by some[11], because he is said to have slain all his brothers before ascending the throne[12]. We shall see later on that he had slain many generals whom he found faithless[13]. During the last years of his life, remorse took hold of his heart because of the cruelties he had perpetrated; so he devoted his time mostly to practising penance and spiritual meditation. The name "Dharmāśoka" is said to have been given to him on this account[14].

**The four years that preceded his coronation ceremony**

During the last years of the rule of Bindusār, rebellions were ripe everywhere in the empire. Aśoka, as we know, had been sent to the Punjāb to bring the situation under control there. On account of the death of his father he had to speed up towards Pāṭliputra. Hardly had he put his foot into it when news reached him that the fourth Āndhra king, Mallika Śātakaraṇi, who had annexed the Kaliṅg to his own territory,

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(10) Appendix A at the end of this book, where it is shown that this conclusion is ill-founded.

(11) Is it not quite probable that "Chaṇḍāśoka" might have been pronounced as "Sandrecottus" by the Greeks? For reasons see further.

(12) Read further; Rulers of India Series, Aśoka, pp. 20:—"There was some bloodshed at the time of his accession to the throne. No proof, however, is available to support this statement."

(13) Pp. 233, para 5, f. n. no. 42. There is no historical proof for this. There is a legend to this effect. Generally a man does not shed blood of his kith and kin, though in matters political nothing is impossible. M. S. I. pp. 495.—"Hu-en-Tśang has fixed the situation of Narkagṛha near Ujjaini. (R. W. W. Vol. II. pp. 271) (why in Ujjaini, when his capital was Pāṭaliputra ? ). "It is difficult to sort out truth from Mahāvaṁsa, Divyāvadān, and from the memories of Hu-en-Tśang. Many scholars view them with an eye of distrust." M. S. I. pp. 491 (on the authority of Divyāvadān):—"Aśoka killed his five hundred ministers in a fit of anger. Once he burnt 500 hundred queens."

(14) Dharmāśoka does not seem to have been one of his names. Śiśunāga king who was called Kālāśoka was given this name also. (R. W. W. Vol. II. pp. 90, f. n. no. 26; pp. 85, f. n. no. 11). I have later on proved that "Dharmāśoka was one of the names of Priyadarśin. (Appendix A at the end of this book; also f. n. no. 56 below).

had declared himself independent of the paramountcy of Magadh[15]. Hence Aśoka marched southwards with an army and subdued him. In the battle that was fought he lost one of his brothers[16]. On his return to the capital messengers from the Punjāb informed him that all was not quite on that front. Not only were the different chiefs quarrelling with one another, but the Greek emperor Alexander, having heard alluring descriptions of the fabulous riches of India, had already crossed the Indus and camped on the banks of the Jhelum.[17] Āmbhi had marched against him with a large army, but Alexander pounced upon him unawares at night.—his army having crossed the river by a ford,—with the result that Āmbhi had to yield and accept his suzerainty. Alexander marched forward towards the Sutlaj, defeated Paurus, and forced him to acknowledge his power. Elated with his conquests Alexander began to progress further. Aśoka confronted him with a formidable army. Alexander was about thirty, and Aśoka was two or three years his junior[18]. The Greek emperor invited Aśoka to meet him at his own camp. The invitation was cordially accepted by the fearless Aśoka, who went into Alexander's camp without any escort and with an open sword in his hand, trusting that there would be no foul play. During their talks, Alexander proposed some insulting terms from the treaty. Overpowered with indignation, Aśoka told him plainly that the only fit reply to such insolent terms was sword for sword. Alexander instantly ordered his men to catch hold of him and kill him with a sword[19]. Aśoka, however, was too quick for them and took to heels as fast as his feet could carry him. After running over a pretty long distance

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(15) Coins nos. 57, 59, 60 etc.

(16) Maśki rock–inscription. Read chapter on Priyadarśin for details about such rock-inscriptions.

(17) Ind. His. Quart. V, 1929, pp 7—Between the fall of the Nandas and the accession of Chandragupta (Sandrocottus) the Jaina works are absolutely silent on Alexander's invasion.

(18) J. R. A. S. 1932, April, pp [illegible]77—"Sandrocottus was [illegible] the [illegible] of his youth when he visited Alexander." Pp. 21[illegible] f. n. no. 2

(19) For details read the previous chapter.

overcome with fatigue, he stretched himself under the cool shade of a tree in a forest, and fell instantly sound asleep. After a short time, a large lion approached him and began to lick the sweat that had oozed profusely from his body. When Aśoka awoke, he saw the lion quietly retreating into a bush. Encouraged by this good omen, he thought himself to be destined for the highest position in life. At last he returned to Pāṭliputra, where his coronation ceremony was performed.

These incidents took place during these four years[20].

Though it was a custom to appoint the heir-apparent as the governor of Avanti, Aśoka, as we have seen, was appointed to the post contrary to the custom. He was 14 years old at that time[21] ( B. C. 338 or A. M. 189). At that time Avanti was divided into two parts; Pūrva Avanti and Paśchim Avanti (Eastern Avanti and Western Avanti). The capital of the former was Vidiśā (Bhilsā). It was also called Besnagar (Vaiśya-nagar=a city full of Vaiśyas). The capital of the latter was Ujjain. Of these two, Vidiśā was a more flourishing town than Ujjain, because it was a holy place of the Jains[22], and was as such given more preference by Jaina kings. During his governorship here, Aśoka married[23] with a

**His life before he ascended the throne**

(20) Aśoka by Bhāndārkar, pp. 10:—"Aśoka's coronation ceremony took place four years later, not because he was engaged in slaughtering his brothers, but because he had gone to the Punjāb to suppress the rebellions there and to oppose Alexander." I. H. Quar. V, 1929, pp. 9.

(21) At this time, a boy was said to have come to age at the age of 14. Mahāvīr was married at this age. Śreṇik married at the age of 13 with a girl in Bennātaṭnagar, and ascended the throne at the age of 15. Bindusār was married at the age of 14. The coronation ceremony of Priyadarśin was performed when he was 14. (Vol. I. pp. 29 & 30 and f. n. no. 64 & 66.) People had stout bodies at that time. Vide my "Life of Mahāvīr" for more details.

(22) See my "Life of Samprati," (shortly to be published): and "Life of Mahāvīr" also; vol. I. pp. 174 & seq.

(23) Aśoka by R. K. Mukerji, pp. 8:—Aśoka married his first wife when he was viceroy of Ujjain. She was the daughter of a merchant at Vediśānagar. She is described as having constructed the great vihār at Vediśāgiri, probably first of the monuments of Sāñchī and Bhilsā.

beautiful Vaiśya girl[24] who, next year, gave birth to a son–Kuṇāl (A. M. 190=B. C. 337)[26]. After a short time he married one beautiful Buddhist girl, Tiṣyarakṣitā[25] by name. She gave birth to a son, named Mahendra[26] (A. M. 192=B. C. 335), and a daughter named Saṅghamitra[27] (A. M. 194=B. C. 333). When he was crowned king, he sent for both the queens and the children; but Tisyaraksitā came to Pāṭliputra with her two children, while the other could not,[28] though her son Kuṇāl went there with his brother Tissakumār[29].

**Fixing of dates of his rule**

We have already fixed the dates of the rule of Aśoka according to our calculations The theory that Chandragupta was the same as Sandrecottus has given rise to many erroneous conceptions in connection with subsequent Indian history. Hence we think it expedient to supply the following proofs of the correctness to our theory.—

(1) According to the Simhālese chronicles Aśoka's[30] coronation

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(24) Vaiśya = Merchant.

(25) Later researches had told me that he married Tiṣyarakṣitā two years later. So the dates of the Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā will have to be changed.

(26) When he ascended the throne, this prince was six years old, and Mahendra was four years old, while his sister was two years old

(27) Her real name must have been different, because Saṅghamitrā means "sister of the order" (of Buddhism).

(28) G. V. S. Aśokacharitra, pp. 13·—When Aśoka went to Pātaliputra with his children, he left his wife, mother of Kuṇāl, at Vidiśā, either because she had just given birth to a child or because she had died of delivery. Thus she left the world leaving her two sons, Kuṇāl and the new-born child, motherless. (Vide the account of Daśarath and Śāliśūk further.)

(29) This is the name as found in Buddhist books. His real name was Śāliśūk, see the appendix Sudarsan B. chapter V. He was born in B. C. 327 and hence a few months old when his father Aśoka was crowned in B C. 32[illegible]

(30) The Buddhists of South India calculate the Buddhist Era beginning with year in which Buddha attained Nirvāṇ,—the highest state of knowledge—, while those of North India calculate it with his Parinirvāṇ, i. e death. (Pp. 13, f. n. no. 64; pp. 8, f. n. no 31).

ceremony took place 218 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇ[31]. As the Siṃhalese follow the B. E. according to South Indian tradition, the coronation date of Aśoka will be B. C. 543[32]–218=B. C. 325–6.

(2) Sudarśan Vibhāś which is a Chinese translation work,[33] states Aśoka to have lived in A. B. 218[34]. As the Chinese follow the B. E., followed by the Burmese and the Siṃhālese the date of Aśoka will be the same as in art 1. (B. C. 325–6).

(3) Dr. Fleet[35] also assigns the date A. B. 218 to Aśoka's coronation.

(4) General Cunningham states in his Corp. Inscr. Indic. pref. IX, that Aśoka's reign lasted for 41 years[36], from A. B 215 to A. B. 256, i. e. B. C. 329 to B. C. 288. (544–215=329).

(5) The Nirvāṇ[37] of the last[38] Buddha Śākya Muni, according to the Buddhist Chonicles of Ceylon and Burma, took place

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The most authoritative book for North Indian Buddhist is "Mahāvaṃśa," while that of the Southerners is "Dipavaṃśa."

According to the Southern method of calculation, the Buddhist Era began in 543–4 B. C., and according to the Northern in 520 B. C.

I. A. 1914, Divān Bahādur L. D. Kanvāiswāmī Pilāi has stated its date to be 478 B. C. His arguments for this deserve attention. For details vide chap. I of this volume. More details will be given later on.

(31) Dipavaṃśa VI, I; I. A., vol. 32, pp. 266; I. A. vol. 37, pp. 345, "Aśoka" by Smith, pp. 209; J. R. A. S. 1932, pp. 285:—"The Ceylonese chronicles further state that Aśoka succeeded his father Bindusār 214 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇ and his anointment took place four years later i. e. 218 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇ."

(32) Cf. pp. 13, f. n. no. 64.

(33) I. A. vol. 37, pp. 349.

(34) I. A. vol. 37, pp. 250.

(35) Art. 2 above.

(36) 4 years as king, 24 years as emperor; and 13 years as regent; in all 41 years.

(37) A. E. by Cunningham, pp. 34–36.

(38) The fact that he was last, means that he had predecessors.

in B. C. 544[39]. The inauguration ceremony of Aśoka is stated to have taken place 218 years after the Nirvāṇ. His father's death took place during 214th[40] year after Nirvāṇ, and his coronation ceremony, four years later,[41], after he had subdued his brothers[42].

( Thus Bindusār, Aśoka's father died in 544–214=330–29[43] B.C. Aśoka ascended the throne four years later; i. e. in 326–5 B. C.)

(6) Aśoka ascended the throne[44] between B. C. 329 and 325.

(7) 311 years elapsed between the accession[45] of king Śreṇik and the termination of Aśoka's reign[46]. This gives us[47] 580-311 =B. C. 269–70[48], as the date of the termination of Aśoka's reign, (rather of his life, because his reign has ended in 289 B. C. as stated in article 4 above).

(8) Prof. Hultzch says[49]:—"Seleucus gave his daughter in marriage to Sandrecottus in B. C. 304; Sandrecottus had come to the throne in B. C. 330[50]"

It was Aśoka who ascended the throne in B. C. 330, and not Chandragupta. (Art. 4, 5, 6 and f. n. no. 39).

(9) He is said to have married a Yavan princess[51] in the 26th year of his reign.

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(39) F. n. no. 30 above.

(40) F. n. no. 30 above.

(41) F. n. no. 30 above.

(42) For my opinion refer below to the paragraph "His family".

(43) F. n. no. 39 above.

(44) I. A. vol. 32, pp. 232, Article by Mr. P. C. Muckerji, Assistant, Director-general, Archeological Department.

(45) Vol. I. Account of Śreṇik.

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(47) I. A. vol. 32, pp. 232, ( Vāyupurān states this event to have taken place 312 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇ, and Matsyapurān 311 years after the Nirvāṇ; General Cunningham, in his "Book of Indian Eras, pp. 35," has stated 311 years).

(48) F. n. no. 7 above.

(49) C. A. I. vol. I. pref. pp. 85.

(50) This proves that Sandrecottus was Aśoka and not Chandragupta, because the latter's reign lasted for only 24 years, while Sandrecottus married the Yavan princess during the 26th year of his reign whose name seems to be Asandhimitrā.

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(39) F. n. no. 30 above.

(40) F. n. no. 30 above.

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(51) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 119, and 196–97, pp. 431 and 472,

From this, we come to the conclusion that Aśoka came to the throne in B. C. 330. Twenty-six years later, i. e. in B. C. 304, he made a treaty with Seleucus Necator, who gave his daughter in marriage to him and agreed to transfer under his power his trans-Indus territory. Chandragupta's reign has lasted only for 24 years; how could he have married the Yavan princess during the 26th year of his reign? This proves that he was not the same as Sandrecottus.

In short:—(1) Aśoka came to the throne in 330 B. C. (2) His coronation ceremony was performed 4 years later in 326 B.C. (3) His reign lasted for 41 years; it ended in 289 B. C. (4) He died in 270 B. C. at the age of 82. (5) He was born in B. C. 352

He had three queens. (1) The chief queen who gave birth to Kuṇāl[52]., was the daughter of a wealthy merchant of Vidiśā.[53]. She died when Aśoka's coronation ceremony was about to be performed. (2) The second queen was the beautiful Tiṣyarakṣitā. Aśoka was infatuated with her charm and made her chief queen after the death of his first queen.[54]. She gave birth to Mahendrakumār. So fascinating was her beauty and so much was the king enslaved by it, that she prevailed over him to change his religion from Jainism to Buddhism. The queen, however, was not a woman of good character. Attracted by the eyes[55] of Kuṇal, she asked him to enter into incestuous relations with her. Kuṇal flatly and indignantly refused to comply with her sinful request, with the result that he lost his eyes. When Aśoka

His family

(52) Kuṇāl's name was Dharmavivardhan. (R. K. M. Aśoka, pp. 8). In chap. 27 of Divyāvadān, it is stated that the son who was born of the new queen Padmāvatī (f. n. no. 53 below) was named Dharmavardhan. The eyes of this prince resembled a Hymalayan bird; hence Aśoka gave him the name Kuṇāl. (R. K. M. pp. 8, f. n. no. 1).

(53) Her name was Padmāvatī (R. W. W., vol. I. pp. 141, f. n. no. 56, f. n. no. 52 above).

(54) F. n. no. 28 above.

(55) F. n. no. 52 above. The Bhilsā Topes, pp. 124.—Through the queen's influence, by a royal order sealed with the king's signature, those beautiful eyes (Kuṇāl's) which had excited the queen's love, were taken out.

Life of Aśoka published from Pālitāṇā.

came to know the plot which had cost Kuṇāl his eyes, and also the faithlessness of the queen; he was overpowered with rage and burnt her alive[56], (during the seventh year of his reign.[57] in B. C. 319=A. M. 208). (3) The third was queen Asandhimitrā[58], the daughter of Seleucus Necator. Her marriage with Aśoka took place in 304 B. C. according to the treaty terms.[59]. The king loved her so passionately[60] that when she died in 301 B. C.[61], only three years after the marriage–Aśoka spent the next three years[62] in mourning, at the end of which he married the maid-servant of the queen, in B. C. 298=A. M. 229. Aśoka must have had some more queens, because there was an interval of fifteen years between the death of Tiṣyarakṣitā (B. C. 319) and the marriage with Asaṅghamitrā (304 B. C.).

As regards his children[63], the following names have been

(56) F. n. no. 85 below, for the extract from Mahāvaṃśa; Aśoka by V. Smith, pp. 236, "Tiṣyarakṣitā was burnt alive by the order of Aśoka"; Jaina books state that she was killed in some other way; Berenhoff. B. I. pp. 409 to 413; f. n. no. 13 above; read further in this book.

(57) Read further.

(58) Many writers have confused this queen with Tiṣyarakṣitā and have also ascribed certain events to her which took place during the life-time of the latter. The cause of this confusion may have been that the name of the daughter of Tiṣyarakṣitā was Sanghamitrā (F. n. no. 63 below).

(b) F. n. no. 50 above.

(59) Read further.

(60) Was it his intention to be in mourning for as many years as the queen was alive?

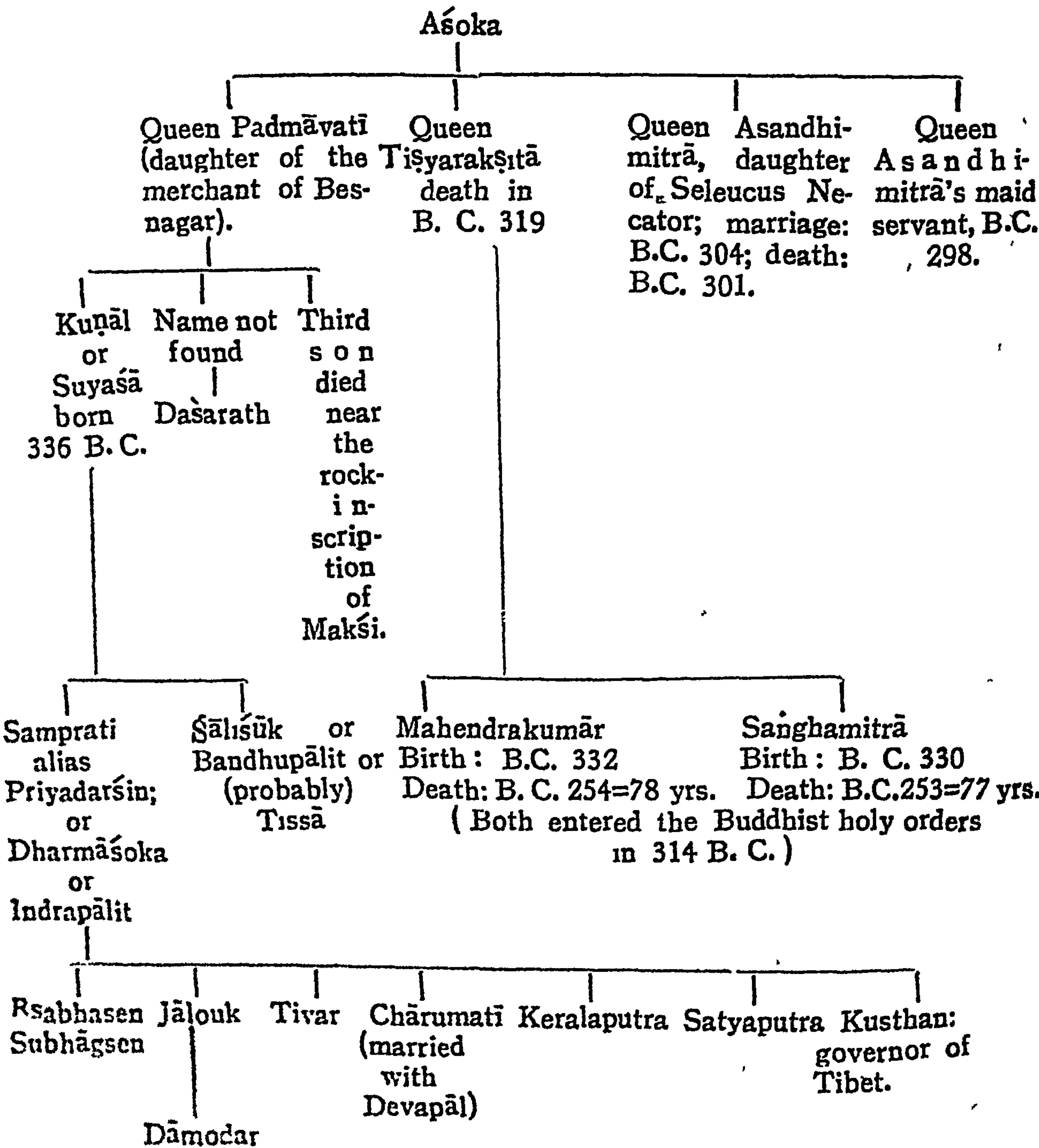
(61) The Bodhibīj was established in B. C. 313, 12 years after the establishment of the Bodhivṛkṣa. (E. H. I. pp. 220). F. n. no. 92.

(62) Her marriage took place in 304 B. C. and she died in 301 B. C.

(63) Bindusār

| Suṣimā | Aśoka | Tiṣya alias Mādhavasiṃha; |
|---|---|---|
| Suṣima was killed in about 328–29 B. C. at the place where stands to-day the rock-inscription of Śāhbazgrahī (Suyaśā was the name of Aśoka's son and Suṣima was the name of Aśoka's brother). | B. C. 330 to 289= 41 years. (He died at the place where stands to-day the rock-inscription of Sahasrām. | Birth. B. C. 350; Death: B. C. 318 near the rock-inscription of Manśerā. |

chronicled:— (1) Kuṇal. He was born of the first queen, in B. C. 336.[64] We know how Tiṣyarakṣitā, the second queen, was bewitched by his handsome eyes and had asked him to enter into immoral connections with her; how Kuṇāl indignantly refused to do anything of the kind. Then he was appointed as governor of Ujjain where he went with king's younger brother Tiṣya. The queen, however, plotted meanly and sent a letter bearing the seal-mark of the king, ordering him to take off his eyes.




(64) The Bhilsa Topes. p. 95:—He (Aśoka) gained the affection of Devi, the lovely daughter of Shreshthi, or the chiefman of the place. A year afterwards she bore him a son named Mahendra. (It ought to be Kuṇāl).

Kuṇal, dutiful as he was, obeyed the order which, he believed, was sent by his father. He was the father of Priyadarśin, who succeeded Aśoka on the throne. (2) Prince Mahendra and princess Saṅghamitrā[65]. Both were born of Tisyarakṣitā, in B. C. 332 and 330, respectively, in Vidiśā. When Aśoka ascended the throne, she brought them to Pātliputra. Princess Saṅghamitrā might have perhaps been born in Pāṭliputra; when their mother died, they were 13 and 11 respectively. Both were Buddhists like their mother. Saṅghamitrā was married by Aśoka with a certain Agniśarmā[66] in B. C. 316. When, however, this Agniśarmā renounced the world and became a Buddhist monk in B. C. 314, Saṅghamitrā (may be two years later in 312[67]) and her brother Mahendra also entered the Buddhist holy orders as nun and monk. Mahendra remained unmarried throughout his life. When Aśoka established the Bodhi tree in Ceylon[68] in B C. 313, he had sent there a group of missionaries under the leadership of these two-brother and sister[69], Mahendra Bhiksu (Monk) died in Ceylon at the age of 78, having completed 58 years of holy life, in B. C. 254 and Saṃghamitrā died at the age of 77, having spent 59 years in devout meditation[70] in B. C. 253. When Saṅghamitrā died, it was nine years[71] since the death of king

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(65) Aśoka, Smith, pp. 48:—"I disbelieve wholly in the tale of Saṅghamitrā, the supposed daughter of Aśoka. Her name which means "Sister of the order" is extremely suspicious."

(66) C. H. I. pp. 500.–Agniśarmā, husband of Saṅghmitrā. (She was 14 at the time of her marriage. Cf. f. n. no. 21.)

(67) Mahāvaṁśa V. 204–5. C. H. I. 500, f. n. no. 4:—Mahendra is said to have been 20 years of age and Saṅghamitrā 18 at the time of their ordination.

(68) Aśoka, Smith, pp. 220:—12 years after Bo-tree was sent to Ceylon Asandhimitrā, the beloved queen died.

(69) Princeps. Use. Tab. vol. II. 298:—(B. C. 307). The mission to establish Buddhism in Ceylon.

(70) Aśoka by Smith, pp. 214:—"Saṅghamitrā died in the 59th year after her ordination, that being the ninth of the reign of king Uṭṭiya (perhaps the successor of king Tiṣya). Her brother Mahendra had passed in the previous year".

(71) Below is given the chronological list of the kings of Ceylon prepared by me with the help of I. A. 1914, pp. 169 and C. H. I.:—

Tissā of Ceylon had taken place[72] and the accession of king Uttiya to the throne.[73]. (4) The fourth child was prince

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| | A.M. | to | A.M. | years | B.C. | to | B.C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Vijay | 6 | to | 44 | 38 | 520[1] | to | 482[2] |
| (2) Period of misrule | 44 | to | 45 | 1 | 482 | to | 481 |
| (3) Pāṇḍuvās | 45 | to | 75 | 30 | 481 | to | 451[3] |
| (4) Abhay | 75 | to | 95 | 20 | 451 | to | 431 |
| (5) Pankuḍak (robber) | 95 | to | 159 | 64 | 431 | to | 368[4] |
| (6) Muṭāsiv | 159 | to | 218 | 59 | 368 | to | 309 |
| (7) Period of misrule | 218 | to | 223 | 6 | 309 | to | 303 |
| (8) Tissā[7] | 223 | to | 263 | 40 | 303 | to | 263[6] |
| (9) Uttiya | 263 | to | 273 | 10 | 263 | to | 253 |

I. A. 1914, pp. 169, f. n. no. 83; C. H. I. Mahāvaṃsa, VII, 51:—

(1) During the eighth year of the rule of Ajātaśatru; B. C. 529-8=B.C. 520.

(2) During the 14th year of the rule of Udayan, 496-14=B. C. 482.

(3) During the 21st year of the rule of Nāgadaśak, 472-21=B. C. 451.

(4) He died during the 14th year of the rule of Chandragupta, after having reigned for nearly 70 years; 382-14 =B. C. 368.

(5) Seventeen years after the coronation ceremony of Aśoka; B. C. 326-17=309 B. C. He died after having ruled for 60 years.

(6) He died during the 26th year of the rule of Aśoka (The right word is Priyadarśin; B. C. 289-26=B. C. 263.

(7) There were two individuals bearing the name Tissā. One was the brother of Aśoka. He died during the 8th year of the rule of Aśoka, i. e. in 318 B. (c. f. no. 63 above). The other was the king of Ceylon. Both were thus Contemporaries of Aśoka. I believe that the name of Aśoka's brother was "Tiṣya" and not "Tissā". Scholars seem to have confused these two names on account of similarity. (cf. f. n. no. 80 below). The king of Ceylon died in B. C. 263.

(72) F. N. no. 71 above.

(73) Aśoka by Dr. Bhandarkar, p. 7:—"Grandson of Aśoka"; J. B. B. R. A. S, Vol 20, p. 367:— Aśoka appointed Daśarath as the governor of Magadh in th same year in which he abdicated his throne in favour of Priyadarśin. In Nagārjuna cave-inscriptions it is stated that during the 26th year of his "reign", Daśarath gave a big donation. Misled by the word "reign" scholars have held the opinion that "Daśarath" was but another name of Priyadarśin. We know that they were cousins. The word "reign" however, leads us to,

Daśarath.[74]. It is not known of which queen she was born. He may perhaps have been the son of some younger brother of Kuṇala, and must have been intended by Aśoka to succeed him on the trone, as Kuṇāl was blind and as Mahendra had become a monk. When, however, Kuṇāl's son Samprati[76] was designated as heir-apparent, Dasarath was appointed as the governor of Magadh[77] by Aśoka during his regency (A. M. 223=B. C. 304). When Samprati ascended the throne, he continued the appoinment. When Daśarath died, he appointed his own younger brother Śāliśūka on the post[78]. Daśarath had given in charity certain mountain-caverns[79] to the Śramaṇas ( monks ) of the Ājivika sect. ( Vide next chapter ).

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the conclusion that Aśoka made him an independent ruler of the province of Magadh. i. e. he was not under the suzerainty of Priyadarsin. (f. n. no. 72 and appendix at the end of the book). Also see f. n. 71 above.

(74) It is certain that Aśoka must have designated him as his successor. The Nagārjuna cave-inscription supports this contention. When however Priyadarśin succeeded Aśoka on the throne, he was appointed by Aśoka as the governor of Magadh, with Pāṭliputra as his capital. The Śuṅgas are said to have exterminated the Maurya dynasty, having led an invasion over Pāṭliputra. This leads us to the conclusion that a separate branch of the Maurya dynasty started with Daśarath.

What relation had Daśarath with Aśoka ? (f. n. no. 73 below). He had stated himself as the grandson of Aśoka in the Nagārjuna cave-inscriptions. He may have been the son of Kuṇāl and the younger brother of Priyadarśin. That he stated himself as the "grandson of Aśoka, " instead of as the brother of Priyadarśin " during the latter's reign, shows that he was appointed as the governor of Magadh by Aśoka himself, (Appendix at the end of the book, f. n. no. 73 below ). Also see f. n. no. 71 above.

(75) Appendix about him at the end of the book.

(76) In Jaina books Priyadarśin is known as Samprati.

(77) The capital of the empire was Vidiśā in Avanti; Pāṭaliputra was fixed up as the capital of the province of Magadh. The Śuṅga king invaded Pāṭaliputra, destroyed it, and exterminated ( ? ) this branch of the Mauryan dynasty.

(78) See the chronological list on pp. 237 above.

(79) They are called "Nagārjuni caves".

We have already examined and refused the aburd theory of Bindusār having had 100 sons. It is, however, quite possible that Aśoka must have had a pretty large number of sons. We know that the eldest son was blinded by the cunning of Tiṣyarakṣitā. The other son Tissā[80], was born in A. M. 176=B. C. 351. He was much trusted by Aśoka, who sent him as a body-guard to Kuṇāl when the latter was appointed as the governor of Ujjain. He was sent to suppress a riot in the Punjāb in B. C. 319=A. M. 208, where he died. It is probable that Daśarath must have been his son.

On account of his miserable family-life, Aśoka, brave and valorous as he was, was always full of worries and anxieties. His mind knew no peace. As a consequence his temperament, which was haughty from the first, became almost ungovernable. He is said to have once killed his five hundred queens and five hundred ministers[81]. It is for this reason that he is said to have been nick-named as "Chaṇḍāśoka"[82], though general Cunningham holds the opinion that the name owes its origin to his slaughter of the Greek generals of Alexander[83].

**The Narkālay**

(80) The Jaina books state that the name of the brother who was sent to Ujjain as the body-guard of Kuṇāl, was Mādhavsiṃha. This had led me to the conclusion that Mādhavsiṃha was another name of Tissā. (Cf. f. n. no. 28 above) (Cf. the chronological list of the kings of Ceylon, given above).

Ind. Ant. 1914, pp. 179-(Mahāvaṃśa V, 102,)-"It is said that Tissa died in the 26th year of Aśoka's reign. (It ought to be Priyadarśin); but in M. VII, 32,-the year given is 8th (after coronation or conversion ?) (Note-The first Tissā was the king of Ceylon, and the second was the brother of Aśoka. The references given here are confused because the author has mistaken one Tissā for the other).

(81) f. n. no. 56 and 13; M. S. I. pp. 491; Divyāvadān contains the account of how Aśoka put his five hundred ministers to sword and how he burnt alive his five hundred queens, in a paroxysm of rage. (The number may have been exaggerated, but the thing shows his innate cruelty of nature), p. 237.

(82) p. 227 above, and f. n. no. 83 below.

(83) f. n. no. 50, Chap. VII; The Bhilsa Topes. pp. 87:-The expulsion of the Greek troops and the slaughter of their chiefs (Justin XV 4).

It is also believed by scholars that he had got a dungeon built in Pātliputra, in order to inflict severe punishment on criminals. The information supplied by Hu-en-Tsāng, however, leads us to think that the dungeon was built in Ujjain and not in Pātliputra[84]. Does this mean that he had begun his atrocities while he was the governor of Ujjain ? Or, did he use to send all criminals to Ujjain ? Or, were there two capitals during his reign ?

One thing is certain; and that is, that greater importance was attached to Ujjain than to Vidiśā, which was the favourite city of Chandragupta.

The legend goes that at the main gate of the dungeon was placed an executioner by Aśoka, with orders that whoever passed by the road was to be quickly put to death. Once it so happened that a Buddhist monk happened to pass by the road. Possibly the chief Buddhist monk had devised this plan to put a stop to the atrocities of Aśoka. No sooner was the monk thrown into the pan of boiling oil, to end his life than the oil cooled down, and the monk came out uninjured. The wonder of the executioner knew no bounds and he ran to Aśoka to acquaint him with the miracle. Aśoka himself went there with him, and was dumbfounded at the sight he saw. Lost in deep thought, he was about to return to his palace, when the executioner politely told him that even he (Aśoka) had to be thrown into the pan of boiling oil, because his orders were to kill any one, who passed by the road. Aśoka saw the absurdity and the unreasonable cruelty of his order and withdrew it on the spot.

His father and his grand-father were followers of Jainism He himself was a Jain before his marriage with Tisyaraksitā, after which he became a follower of Buddhism, the faith that the queen followed. This conversion took place three or four months before his coronation ceremony[85] (not three or four years after

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(84) Rec. West. World, pt. II, pp. 270:-"Not far from the city of (Ujjain) is a stūpa where Aśokarājā got the dungeon erected"

(85) (a) Extracts from Mahāvamśa given in f. n. no. 86 below.

(b) Jaina books do not contain any reference to Aśoka. The reason

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that )[86]. It seems, that though he included himself among the ranks of the Buddhists, yet he was not very devout at the beginning[87]. When he found Tiṣyarakṣitā to be devoid of chastity,

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is his change of faith before his coming to the throne. For the faith that he followed before that, read no. (e) below and f. n. no. 86.

(c) Aśoka, Mysore, revised 2nd edi. vol. I. pp. 290 and the following:—"He was a Jain at first." Jainism on the Early Faith of Aśoka, by Thomas and Āine Akabarī by Abul Fazal, prove convincingly that "Āśoka introduced Jainism into Kāśmir, which is confirmed by Rājataraṅgiṇi or Brahminical history of Kāśmir, recording that Aśoka brought in the Jaina Śāsan."

(This Aśoka is stated to be of the "Gonanda" dynasty, i. e. Nanda dynasty. Thus the epithet Dharmāśoka rightly belongs to Nand II or Mahānand. If the word is only Aśoka, the king might have been Nand IX. The fact, however, that this king appointed his son Jālauk as the governor of this province, leads us to the conclusion that he must have been Nand I. (Read no. (d) below).

(d) M. S. I. pp. 53.—It is stated there on the authority of "Age of Śaṅkar", pp. 60, by Nārāyaṇ Śāstrī.—"Aśoka (Dharmāśoka) is mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇi by Kalhaṇ. He belonged to the Gonanda dynasty (f. n. no. (c) above.)" The fact, however, that his son Jālauk was appointed governor of the province, goes to indicate that he must have been Priyadarśin, who had appointed his sons as the governors of different provinces. (See the appendix D at the end of the book).

(e) I. A. vol. 37, pp. 342:—"He was converted to Buddhism in the 4th year after his accession. His coronation ceremony was performed soon after. (Cf. 86 below)."

(86) Scholars are inclined towards this brief because they have worked under the erroneous conception that Priyadarśin was but another name of Aśoka. The Mahāvaṃśa V. 169, states:—"On account of his cruelties he was known as Chaṇḍāśoka; later on he was given the epithet, "Dharmāśoka on account of his religious deeds.' Sir Cunningham in his Bhilsā Topes, has the following comments to offer on this:—"Mahāvaṃśa places this change of name and character, in the 7th year of Aśoka's reign and his conversion already in the 4th year; these dates cannot be reconciled with the epigraphical ones and, must be erroneous." The error is due to confusing Priyadarśin with Aśoka. (For details read the last pages of this chapter).

(87) He must have been a Jain before his conversion, because both his father and his grandfather were Jains. (f. n. no. 85—(c) and (d) for the time of the conversion.)

We might well ask here whether the Jaina monks tried to dissuade him from this change or not, because they must have thought it worth their while

his faith in Buddhism declined all the more; while on the death of his brother Tissā, he lost all interest in worldly affairs. It was at this time that he got the dungeon (Narkālay) built, to punish the criminals; and perhaps, it was at this time that he slaughtered the Greek generals[88] (P. 221). Due to his loss of faith in Buddhism, he got his daughter, Saṅghamitrā married with an ordinary man named Agniśarmā, instead of giving her in marriage to a prince (B. C. 316–15). Then took place the strange incident[89], which resuscitated his faith in Buddhism, (B. C. 314), and which made him close the Narkālay. In the meanwhile Saṅghamitrā's husband renounced the world and was ordinated as a Buddhist monk[90]. Both Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā declared their intention to follow his footsteps, and were given consent by Aśoka, who convened the third Buddhist Conference at Pāṭliputra[91] (B. C.

**The faith that he followed**

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to try to keep such a mighty emperor within their fold. At the time of the conversion (B. C. 327=A. M. 200), the chief Jaina monk was Sthūlibhadra. Had he tried to dissuade him or not? It is certain that he must have tried. The conversion of Aśoka, however took place in Avanti, while Sthūlibhadra was in Pāṭaliputra. Hence he could, of course, not wield his personal influence over him. Again, the marriage with Tiṣyarakṣitā was responsible for this change. His first queen was simply shocked at this change of faith—She was a Jain herself—and refused to accompany Aśoka to Pāṭaliputra, though, of course, her illness during her period of confinement was the primary cause of her being unable to join him. [Instances of such conversions due to marriages can be multiplied. The Chaulā king who was a Jain, had changed his faith to Śaivism under similar circumstances, (11th century A. D.).] When, as we know, the misconduct of Tiṣyarakṣitā became known to him, he regretted his change and it is possible that one of the reasons of Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā's decision to enter Buddhist holy orders was their disgust at the disgraceful conduct of their mother.

(88) He subdued the Punjāb after having slaughtered the generals of Alexander.

(89) Read details about Narkālay given above.

(90) Pp. 237.

(91) Smith, Aśoka, pp. 221:—"Seventeen years and a half after the coronation (it ought to be accession) of Aśoka.

Mahāvaṁśa V, 230:—"During the 17th year of Aśoka's reign. It lasted for 9 months."

313=A. M. 214). It was at this time that he was given the name Dharmāśoka[92]. Then followed a series of activities by him which associated his name with Buddhism for ever. They were:—

(1) He got pillars[93] erected at places where took place important events of Buddha's life.

(2) He established the Bo-tree[94] in Ceylon which abounded in Buddhist monks. ( B. C. 312-13 ).

(3) He sent a large number of missionaries in order to expiate his sins, with Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā as leaders. The missionaries travelled by sea, starting from at the point where the Mahānadī empties itself into the occean. (Read further for the reason).

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(92) F. N. no. 86 above. Kuṇāl was blind and had no issue upto this time; and Mahendra had entered the Buddhist holy orders. Hence he designated his grandson Daśarath as his successor. Daśarath's father's name is unknown. (f. n. no. 73 & 4; appendix at the end of the book). Henceforth he turned a new leaf in his life : (f. n. no. 85 above).

(93) Aśoka, Smith, pp. 208.—"Aśoka ordered 84000 edifices to be created." In R. W. W. the number stated is 48. Hence the number stated above is purely a matter of exaggeration.

The Bhilsā Topes by General Cunningham:—"The vihāras built by Aśoka are said to have been 84000 in 84000 cities (both Brahmins and Buddhist), but I reject the thousands and read simply 84 cities and 84 vihāras". (But details are not wanting to prove that several cities contained more than one of such institutions; R. W. W. 2 vols. This means that there is some error about the exact number. Vol. I. pp. 273. f. n. no. 94).

Mr. Glazanap in his "Jainism" has stated that he holds the same view. He also refers to the popularity of no. 84 among Hindus.

(94) Aśoka, Smith, pp. 220.—"Twelve years after the Bo-tree was sent to Ceylon, Asandhimitrā, the beloved queen of Aśoka, died; four years after that, the king raised princess Tiṣyarakṣitā to the dignity of Queen-consort; four years after, the destruction of the Bo-tree; and four years after, the end of Aśoka's reign." Asandhimitrā, as we know, was the daughter of Seleucus Necator, "Tiṣyarakṣitā" seems to be an error; the author means the maid-servant of Asandhimitrā.

We can fix up the dates as follows.—

| | B. C. | A. M. | Interval |
|---|---|---|---|
| End of Aśoka's reign : | 289 | 238 | 0 |
| Destruction of the Bo-tree : | 293 | 234 | 4 |

During the rule of Bindusār, governors of many provinces and many subordinate kings had cut off their allegiance to Magadh and had declared themselves independent. Hence, when Aśoka came to the throne, he found the empire in a tottered condition. His ambition was to subdue all the rebellious chiefs and enlarge the boundaries of his empire as far as possible. Shortly after Alexander's departure from India, his coronation ceremony was performed.[95]. We know how he subdued the whole of the Punjāb, by taking advantage of the internal dissensions between Āmbhi and Pauras and how he slaughtered the Greek chiefs[96]. But

**The extent of his territory**

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| | B. C. | A. M. | Interval |
|---|---|---|---|
| Marriage with the maid-servant of Asandhimitrā, (the marriage ceremony might have taken place nearly a year earlier, but she might have been raised to the position of the Queen-consort. (Pp. 235). | 297 | 230 | 4 |
| Death of Asandhimitrā | 301 | 226 | 4 |
| Establishing of the Bo-tree in Ceylon or sending a mission to Ceylon. | 311 | 214 | 12 |

Aśoka married the maid-servant 3 years after the death of Asandhimitrā (pp. 235), i. e. B. C. 298, she might have been raised to the position of the Queen-consort a year later in B. C. 297.

The third Buddhist Conference was convened in B. C. 313. The Bo-tree was sent soon after that.

(95) Ind. His. Qnart- V. 1929, pp. 9:—Assuming therefore that, as soon as Alexander turned his back upon India (Sept. B. C. 326), there was general revolt against him; Sandrecottus' accession to the throne of Pāṭliputra would appear to have taken place simultaneously or a little later. (Cf. details given by me in chap. VII).

M. S. I. 118:—(On the authority of E. G. Habel):—A year after the departure of Alexander from India, revolts took place against him. Takṣilā was the centre of these revolutionary activities.

(96) See f. n. no. 83 and 42; cf. details given in chap. I.

Aśoka was not destined to enjoy peace there. Seleucus Necator[97], the successor of the Greek emperor, led several invasions over India, and Aśoka had to confront him every time, though in the end, the Greek general was forced to enter into a treaty with Aśoka[98] in B. C. 304[99]. By this Paropanisadai, Aria and Arachosia, capitals of which, were respectively the cities known as Kabul, Herat and Kandahar, were ceded to him together with the satrapy of Gedrosia or at least its eastern portion. Over and above this, Seleucus gave his daughter in marriage to him[100] with 500 elephants as one of the items of the dowry. Megasthenes was sent to accompany her to the Indian court. This conquest consolidated the power of Aśoka, to a great extent. Mr. Vincent Smith in E. H. I. 4th. Ed. states:–[101] "The first Indian Emperor, more than two thousand years ago thus entered into possession of that "scientific border" sighed in vain by his English successors and never held in its entirety even by the Mogul monarchs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This means that Aśoka had totally subdued Seleucus, because otherwise he would not have given over such important territories[102].

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(97) Rulers of India Series, Aśoka, pp. 14:—"Seleucus, surnamed Necator the conqueror, by reason of his victories". This shows that Aśoka had to wage wars against a powerful adversary.

(98) The Bhilsā Topes, pp. 92:—Where a successful advance cannot be made, an honourable retreat becomes a decided advantage. The friendly relations were cemented at the time by a matrimonial alliance.

(99) M. S. I. pp. 449:—"Kāśmir was not included among the provinces ceded to Aśoka." E. H. I. 3rd pp. 119:—"Treaty concluded in B. C. 303."

Rulers of India Series, Aśoka pp. 15:—Terms of peace including a matrimonial alliance between the two royal houses were arranged, and the Indian monarch obtained from his opponent, the cession of four satrapies, Aria (Herat), Archosia, Gedrosia and Paropanisadai, giving in exchange the comparatively small recompense of 500 elephants."

(100) This shows clearely that the terms of the treaty were favourable to Aśoka and humiliating to Seleucus.

(101) M. S. I. pp. 143, f. n. no. 1.

(102) The terms of the treaty clearly indicate that Seleucus was forced to come to terms with Aśoka, when he found in him an invincible opponent,

Megasthenes had made attempts to establish foreign power in India, by adding a large number of his own country-men to the Indian army[103]. He had also succeeded in appointing his compatriots to important positions like governorships[104]. The last thirteen years of Aśoka's political career were spent by him as the regent. The first four years he spent in subduing rebellious chiefs in the Punjāb. For next twenty years he had to fight pitched battles against foreign invaders[105]. The remaining four years were utilized by him in organizing his army and taking rest[106]. Thus he had no opportunity[107] to establish his power anywhere else except in northern India[108] In southren India the kings of Satvāhana dynasty had consolidated their power[109].

**Aśoka's abdication in favour of Priyadarśin**

Kuṇal being the eldest and the most intelligent of all his sons, Aśoka had designated him as heir-apparent. He was appointed as the governor of Avanti and Aśoka had sent prince Tisya as his bodyguard. Aśoka intended to keep him away from Pāṭliputra, in order that he might not fall a victim to the wiles of Tisyarakṣitā.[110] The queen, however, who wanted to secure the throne for her own son Mahendra, and who wanted to wreak vengeance upon him, proved too clever for him.

(103) Asia Res. IX, pp. 100:—"From that time he had constantly a large body of Grecian troops in his service as mentioned in the Mudrarākṣas." This may have been due to the influence of Asanghamrtrā and Megasthenes.

(104) Sudarśan lake inscription; the governor, appointed by Aśoka, was named TuSuSpa, who got the lake repaired.

(105) Historians have stated 18 years but as the treaty was concluded in 304 B. C. 22 is the right number.

(106) Pp. 215, f. n. no. 33.

(107) i. e. He had subdued the whole of northern India excluding Kāśmir.

(108) M. S. I. pp. 54:—"Aśoka, who was a follower of Buddhism, was not the emperor of the whole of India." (A point which supports the theory that Aśoka and Priyadarśin were different individuals.)"

(109) The coins of the 4th and the 5th Āndhra kings show this clearly. Coins nos. 57, 59, 60 etc.

(110) For details about this, read the description on Pp. 234 & seq.

Once Aśoka diafted a letter in which he gave instructions to Kuṇāl that he should continue his studies further. The sanskṛt equivalent for studies is "Adhyayana". After finishing the letter, Aśoka went out of the room for some reason. In the meanwhile Tiṣyarakṣitā chanced to come there. She read the letter and quickly saw her way to appease her anger against Kuṇāl. She put an anusvār on the first letter of the word "Adhyayana" by means of the collyrium from her eyes. Thus the word was changed to "Andhyayana" which means "to become blind."[111]. She thought that if Kuṇāl became blind, he would loose all claim to the throne, thus making way easy for her son. She had already receded into her apartment when Aśoka returned. Not knowing the tremendous change made into the contents of the letter, he put his seal upon it, and sent a messenger to Avanti for the despatch of the letter. However, when the letter reached Avanti all were simply thunder-struck at the contents; Tiṣya quickly understood that the letter was the result of the evil insinuations of the queen. But the dutiful Kuṇāl, sent for two red-hot iron bars and thurst them into his own eyes[112], thus blinding himself for ever. When the messenger returned to Pāṭliputra with this tidings, Aśoka's grief knew no bounds, and he regretted his carelessness.

Later on Kuṇāl was married. He began to study music in order to be able to pass his time. A son was born to his wife after a short time. By that time he had mastered the art of singing and playing upon instruments. Advised by the child's nurse—he started towards Pāṭliputra, in order to please Aśoka with his music and to secure from him a promise of appointing his son as the successor to the throne. After reaching Pāṭliputra, he first established his reputation in the city by his skill. The king heard about him and sent for him. In those times it was a custom

(111) The original sentence was "Idām Adhīyatām Kumāraṁ", which means, "the prince should continue his studies further." By adding an anusvār it beame, "Idām Andhīyatām Kumāraṁ", which means, "the prince should be made blind."

(112) Cf. f. n. no. 55; account of Samprati in Pariśiṣṭaparva.

that a blind man could not approach a king face to face. So Kuṇāl was made to sit behind a curtain. He began singing and playing, and so pleased was Aśoka by his mastery both over his own voice and over the instruments, that he told him to choose a boon. The musician said that he wanted "Kākiṇi" for his son. This word has two meanings:—"a piece of glass;" and "the throne." At first Aśoka had taken the first meaning, but then he was told by his ministers that what the musician wanted was the throne. The king was astonished at this and asked the musician to state his reason for such queer request, in reply to which Kuṇāl sang a suggestive song[103] which meant:—"Oh king, I am a direct descendant of Chandragupta, and so I request you to appoint my son as the heir to the throne." Aśoka instantly recognized him as his own son Kuṇāl, removed the curtain himself, and embraced him with much tenderness. He asked him when the son was born to him. Kuṇāl told him that the child was born presently (Samprati[114]), (before 6 months). Aśoka was overjoyed at the news and ordered his prime-minister to go to Avanti and bring the infant to Pāṭliputra, with all the pomp and show befitting a royal prince and heir to the throne. (Samprati was born in 304 B. C.) After the prince was brought to Pāṭliputra, Aśoka abdicated the throne in his favour, and the ten-months-old infant was anointed and proclaimed as the emperor.[115] Aśoka named the prince "Priyadarśin"[116]. His mind now was at

(113) Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā Patrikā, vol. X, no. 4, pp. 634:—
"Payutto Chandraguttasa Bindusārassa Nattuo
Asogasiriṇoputto Andhojāyai Kāgiṇim".

(114) Aśoka by R. K. M. pp. 8.—"The Divyāvadān mentions Samprati as Kuṇāl's son. F. n. no. 116 below.

(115) K. S. S. Com. pp. 127, "Samprati became a king, the moment he was born."

(116) The word "Priyadarśin" means "one who sees good things"; while "Priyadarśan" means "one whose sight is pleasant to look at", or "one to whom scriptures are dear." I think the name as given by Aśoka must have been the latter, though in inscriptions the name commonly found is Priyadarśin.

ease, because henceforth he felt that he had at least in part atoned for his sins and his blunder, which was responsible for the blindness of Kuṇāl. For next fourteen years he acted as the boy's regent and managed the affairs of the empire. Thus Priyadarśin is a proper noun[117] and not merely an epithet; and it has not been proved that it was but another name of Aśoka. Thus we see that Kuṇāl's visit[118] to Pāṭliputra resulted into securing the throne for his son. When Kuṇāl became blind and Mahendra entered the Buddhist holy orders, Aśoka had designated his another grandson "Daśarath" as his successor to the throne[119]; he was subsequently given the governorship of Magadh, as we already know.

**The last phase of his life**

He led a sort of retired life during his last years. According to the Buddhist books, he had begun charities, and these he gave so generously that he had nothing left to give. (This means that he must have given away everything that belonged to him personally; as far as the empire and the treasury were concerned, he could not give anything from them, because now he was only a regent over them, though he seems to have given territories from the empire in charity[120]). When Samprati was anointed as king, the

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Jaina books have always referred to him as Samprati, and never as Priyadarśin as far as I know, though one or two Jaina Śvetāmbara monks like Vidyāvijayji and Hemānśuvijayji state that they do. They have, however, not been able to locate it. As we already know Jaina writers had the habit of giving representative names to important personalities. (Vol. I. pp. 81 & seq.). The same took place in the case of Priyadarśin and hence he is not referred to anywhere by his real name, but by "Samprati."

(117) Ind. Ant. vol. 31, pp. 233; f. n. by Mr. Mukerji.

(118) Vide his account (based on the authority of Pariśiṣṭaparva).

(119) Pp. 238 above (4), details about Daśarath.

(120) Chap. II, further in this vol. The Sudarśan lake inscription tells us that Priyadarśin had conquered all the countries by his own valour. This means that Aśoka must have given large territories in charity, keeping a small kingdom for him. My interpretation of the Sudarśan inscription differs from that of others. How far my interpretation is correct the reader may

territory under him was very small on account of this. We know that Priyadarśin had only too gladly continued Daśarath as the independent ruler of the province of Magadh.

Crimes

Though the number of crimes was greater than it was during the rule of Śrenik, yet that number was very small as compared with our own times. People were happy and prosperous, while the administrative authorities were strict and watchful. On p. 99 of Aśoka Rulers of India series it is stated:—"Magesthenes from his personal experience was able to testify that sternness of government kept crime in check and that in Sandrecottus' capital, with a population of 400,000 the total of the thefts reported on any one day, did not exceed 200 drachmas[121] or about eight pounds sterling"

Public works and inter-national marriage system

The Sudarśan lake near Junagadh was dug by Chandragupta[122]. During subsequent 50 years, it had undergone much wear and tear on account of the inclemencies of weather and badly wanted repairs. Tuṣuṣpa, the yavana governor over that province, had got it repaired by the order of Aśoka. This shows that public works were paid due attention in those times. Again, marriage was not prohibited among members of different nations and communities. India was not caste-ridden as it is now, though society was divided into several component parts according to vocations[123]. Marriages between members of the first three classes and śūdras were not looked upon favourably; we know how Nand II was censured by people on account of his marriage with a śūdra girl[124]. But a king's marriage with a

find out by reading the appendix at the end of the book. Thus, though Aśoka was a regent, he had given away many territories forgetting that he was king no more.

(121) 1 Drachm=0-5-0; while according to the tables supplied by Magesthenes, it comes to 0-6-6. According to lexicon it is 0-9-9.

(122) Vide the account of Chandragupta; I. A. vol. VIII, pp. 80 and further; Bhāvanagar Sanskṛt and Prākṛt Inscriptions, pp. 20.

(123) Pp. 199 extract from M. S. I. pp. 382.

(124) Though, as I have already shown, he was not given the name "Kālāśoka" on this account.

foreign princess was not objected to in any way; and neither were inter-marriages among the members of the first three classes deprecated in any way. Bindusār had married a brahmin girl[125], Chandragupta married a foreign princess[126]; Aśoka married a vaiśya girl and also the daughter of Seleucus Necator. So we come to the conclusions that śūdra's were considered lower than themselves by the first three classes.

European scholars have done grave injustice to Indian history by fixing the theory that Sandrecottus was Chandragupta. We have proved that by Sandrecottus, the Greek historians meant Aśoka. Another serious blunder committed by them is the theory that Aśoka and Priyadarśin were the names of one and the same individual.

**Aśoka and Priyadarśin were different individuals**

It was in some degree easy to prove that Sandrecottus was not Chandragupta, because between him and Aśoka there was Bindusār who ruled for 28 years. In the case of Aśoka and Priyadarśin, there was no intermediary. On the contrary Aśoka acted as the regent of Priyadarśin for 14 years, thus making it quite easy to ascribe the event that took place during the reign of one, to the other. Even then, the confusion is not so intricate and baffling as that between the Śuṅga kings, where a powerful king has been described as an imbecile and vice versa; thanks to these overlappings of dates.

A great scholar has said:—"A body of history must be supported upon a skeleton of chronology and without chronology history is impossible." Let us try to fix up and examine certain dates, taking for granted that Chandragupta was Sandrecottus:—

(A) Chandragupta had been ten years on the throne, when Alexander invaded India in 327 B. C. This means that he

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(125) Scholars have held the opinion that Chandragupta married a foreign princess because his brother-in-law belonged to the Pallava clan. They have confused these Pallavas with Palhavas—the Persians—and hence the error. The Pallavas were only a branch of the Lichchhavi clan. (pp. 184 f. n. no. 102, pp. 98 f. n. no. 101; pp. 25 f. n. no. 134).

(126) Cf. pp. 205 and 216.

ascended the throne in 337 B. C. His reign lasted for 24 years; his successor Bindusār's reign lasted for 28 years. Then Aśoka came to the throne, and he made a treaty with Seleucus Necator during the 26th year of his reign i. e. in 337–78=259 B. C. Now the same scholars have stated, on the other hand, that, the treaty was concluded in 304 B. C.; how do they explain this?

(B) Let us take an example from the life of Priyadarśin, taking for granted that he was Aśoka. It is stated in the rock-inscriptions that he conquered the Kaliṅg during the ninth year of his reign. Counting backwards from 337 B. C. as the date of Chandragupta's accession to the throne, we come to 276 B. C. as the date of this event. If, on the other hand we take B. C. 304 as the date of the treaty with Seleucus Necator—which was during the 26th year of his reign–the date of the treaty with Kaliṅg comes to 321 B. C.; how can this be explained?

These two instances will suffice to show the hollowness of the theory of considering Aśoka and Priyadarśin as one individual.

If we take Sandrecottus as Aśoka these divergences will at once disappear. The dates will fit with the events in an apple-pie order. We know that Aśoka sat on the throne in 330 B. C. The treaty that was concluded during the 26th year of his reign[127], naturally and appropriately comes to 304 B. C., the date required. Similarly if we ascribe the conquest of Kaliṅg to Priyadarśin the dates will be as elear as anything.

Again, we are told that Aśoka changed his faith during the fourth year of his reign. Then his coronation ceremony was performed. During next twelve to twenty–six years, he got numerous rock and pillar edicts erected. Some of these inscriptions tell us that for some years he was an ordinary layman, then he became a devout follower and joined the Saṅgha. Scholars tell us that he got all these rock and pillar inscriptions erected due to his

(127) Pp. 160 f. n. no. 84 above; 304+26=330 B. C. Seleucus made this treaty after 18 years of unsuccessful invasions. This means that he ascended the throne in 322 B. C., and established the Seleucide dynasty. (Pp. 221 for the chronological list.) I have previously given the date 312 B. C. on the authority of C. I. B. (vol. I, pp. 100 f. n. no. 10). That is a wrong date,

devotedness to Buddhism. Now the Buddhist order has two divisions only, the monks and the nuns. The layman and the laywoman have no place in them, as they have in Jainism. In 1878, Dr. Hornele[128] said in his presidential speech before the meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society:—"This four-fold organization of the Jaina lay-community must have been a factor of the greatest importance to the church, during the whole of its existence and may have been one of the main reasons why the Jaina religion continued to keep its position in India, while its far more important rival Buddhism was entirely swept away by the Brahminic reaction." The quotation proves that the Buddhist order did not include the laity within its fold. This proves that Priyadarśin was not a Buddhist, which means that Priyadarśin and Aśoka were different individuals.[129]

Full details about this theory will be given later on[130].

When Priyadarśin came to age—became 14 years old—Aśoka performed his coronation ceremony and proclaimed him full-fledged emperor. He retired from all worldly affairs.

**Death**

Buddhist books contain rather exaggerated accounts of his charities during this time. He died at the age of 82, near the rock-inscription of Sahasrām erected by Samprati[131].

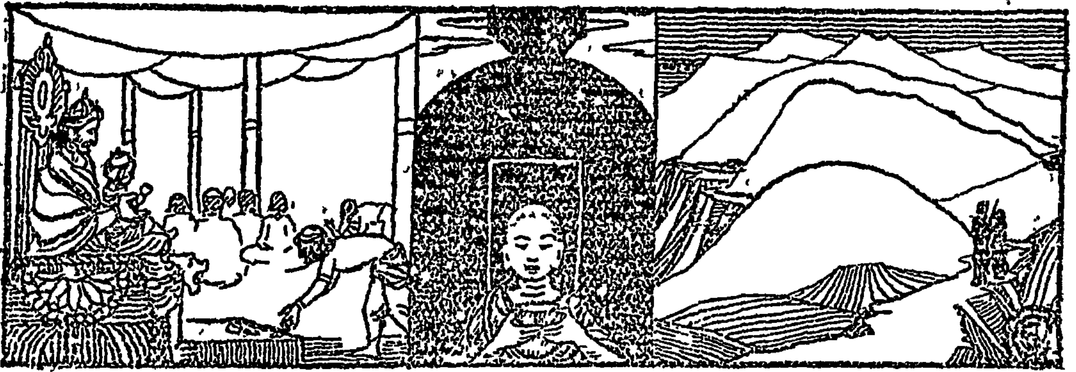
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(128) Pp. 22 f. n. no. 101.

(129) Discussion as to the religion of Priyadarśin will be given in his account.

(130) Aśoka's life has been fully described in exclusive and authoritative Buddhist books like Mahāvaṃśa and Dipavaṃśa. This book will supply the reader with many instances quoted from them. Some of them are:—(1) pp. 247, f. n. no. 108, (2) vol. I. pp. 320-21, (3) vol. I. preface, (4) Details about the Nepalese king Devapāl and Chārumatī given in the subsequent chapter. (5) Details about Tibeṭ and Khoṭān. (6) Account of the Jālauk of Kāśmir. (7) Pp. 242 f. n. no. 86 above.

(131) After the word "Viyutha"=(departed), in the Sahasrām-inscription, the date given is 256. Priyadarśin, who got this and numerous other edicts erected, was a Jain. Hence the era that he followed was the Mahāvīr Era. So this event took place 256 years after Mahāvīr's death. As to the dates of the reign of Aśoka, see pp. 231 & seq.; details about all these rock-edicts will be given in the account of Priyadarśin.



# Chapter II

## Priyadarsin

*Synopsis:—His birth and his various names—His change of the seat of his capital; two branches of the Maurya dynasty—His rule and the duration of his life; points arising from them—His family—Princess Chārumati, who has been mentioned in the rock-edict and her husband Devapāl, the king of Nepāl—His conquests and the extent of his empire, the largest empire of all—His administrative changes—Devapāl's rule in Nepāl—Contemporary foreign rulers and his friendly relations with them—His march into Tibet and central Asia—The famous Chinese wall—Who was responsible for that?*

We know that when Kuṇāl lost his claim to the throne of Magadh on account of his blindness, his son Samprati was declared as his successor by Aśoka[1]. Samprati was born of Kañchanmālā[2] in a city[3] in the vicinity of which was found out the rock-edict of Bābhrā-vairāṭ. When she was pregnant she had seen (in a dream) a white elephant descending from the sky and entering her mouth[4]. He was born in the second half[5] of Poṣa in A. M. 223[6]=B. C. 304. When he was annointed as emperor, he was only ten months old[7]. Aśoka acted as his regent till he came to age at the age of fourteen[8].

**His birth and his names**

We do not know what his name must have been according to astrological position of constellations at the time of his birth. Jaina books state that his name was Samprati[9]. Sometimes it is

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(1) Aśoka, R. K. M., pref. pp. 37, f. n. no. 1:—"Divyāvadān mentions Samprati as Kuṇāl's son, supported by Ind. Ant. 1914, pp. 168, f. n. no. 69."

J. O. B. R. S., vol. 20, no. 3-4, pp. 279:—"According to Matsya, Kuṇāl did not succeed Aśoka; tasya Naptā succeeded Aśoka."

(2) Some Jaina books state her name to have been "Śaradaśrī". Bhilsā Topes, pp. 124, however, contains the words, "Kuṇāl, guided by his faithful wife Kañchanamālā."

(3) For details about this city, read the interpretation of the Bābhrā rock-edict, in "Life of Priyadarśin" shortly to be published by me.

(4) See the scene of Māyādevī in Bhārhūt stūpa and compare it with the details given in Bābhrā rock-edict.

(5) Rock-edicts support this. He was born in the Poṣa of A. M. 223; he was proclaimed heir ten months later, i. e. in the Āśvin of the same year; probably on the tenth day-Vijayādaśamī. His coronation ceremony took place after 13 years, in 236 A. M., probably on Vasanta Pañchamī or on Akṣaya Tṛtīyā.

(6) See the rock-edicts of Rupnāth, Brahmagiri and Sahasrām. His age in the year 256, is stated to have been 32½ years. Thus 256-32½=223 B. C. was the years of his birth. Aśoka's death thus took place in the Āṣādh of 256 A. M.=271 B. C.

(7) Smith, Aśoka, pp. 70; M. S. I., pp. 653.

(8) F. n. no. 5 above.

(9) In Māgadhī language, the name is Samprati. (J. S. L. Saṅgraha, pp. 41).

written as Sampatti—possibly given to him due to his possessing a vast amount of riches. Aśoka had given him the name Priyadarśin[10], which he got inscribed in the rock and pillar edicts due to his respect for his grandfather. The Purāṇas state that the name of the successor of Aśoka was Indrapālit, which may have been another name of Priyadarśin[11]. Certain it is that the king who succeeded Aśoka on the throne was his grandson Samprati by name[12]. Greek books have called him Amitrochades[13]; Jaina books have given him a similar name, Amitrāghāt[14].

Some scholars say that one of his names was Daśarath. Though this contention is questionable, yet we have to admit that there was a governor of Magadh, by name Daśarath[15] and that he was the grandson of Aśoka[16]. Samprati's seat of capital was however, Ujjaini, and hence he was not the same individual as Daśarath. The Nāgārjuna cave inscription states the number of the year of the reign of Daśarath, in which he gave certain things in charity. The word "reign" may be taken to mean that Daśarath gave things in charity in the particular

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(10) G. V. S. Aśoka, pp. 6:—"Priyadarśin" means, "One who looks (at others) with love" or "one who is dear to the sight". Cf. pp. 249. Some scholars think that "Priyadarśin" is a mere epithet. Really speaking it is a proper noun.

Smith, Aśoka, pp. 22, f. n. no. 2.—"I do not deny that the chronicles of Ceylon used Piyadasi and Piyadassan as quasi-proper names; but I affirm that, in the inscriptions the titles are not used.

(11) This name is discussed later on.

(12) Rāsamālā, vol. I. pp. 7, (London, 1856 edi.); "Samprati is a fabulous prince". The reader will see that this observation is quite false.

(13) I. C. C. (Hultzch), Aśoka, pp. 35, and line 25 of 31; Bhilsā Topes, pp. 92; for further details read the next chapter.

(14) Scholars have ascribed this name to Bindusār on the theory that Sandrecottus was Chandragupta. This name belongs to Priyadarśin, while Bindusār's another name was Amitraketu. Pp. 204 f. n. no. 41 and 43.

(15) See the chronological list on pp. 236 above.

(16) J. O. B. R. A. S. XX, pp. 367:—"The Viṣṇupurāṇ gives Daśarath as the name of Aśoka's grandson and immediate successor". For explanation and details about this, see the appendix at the end of the volume.

year of the reign of Priyadarśin under whose power he was the governor of Magadh, and that the things were given in charity by Priyadarśin's order.

On the other hand, we definitely know that one branch of the Maurya dynasty ruled over Bengal and Behar–the original Magadha province—in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. This leads us to the conclusion that a separate and independent branch of the Maurya dynasty must have been established over Magadh during the rule of Priyadarśin and that this Daśarath must have been the first king of this branch. It was probably established in the same year in which Priyadarśin became full-fledged emperor and hence the number of the year of the giving of charities by Daśarath coincides with the number of the year of Priyadarśin's reign[17].

This Daśarath was certainly the grandson of Aśoka; but what was his father's name? When Aśoka was the governor of Ujjain, he had two sons, Kuṇal and Mahendra. We know, however, that when, after Bindusār's death, Aśoka went to Pāṭliputra with his family, Kuṇal's mother—Kañchanmālā–could not accompany him because she was far advanced in pregnancy[18] and that soon after giving birth to a child, she had died. If that child were male-child, Kuṇal must have had a younger brother[19]. Prince Mahendra had renounced the world and had entered the Buddhist order[20], while he was unmarried. So there is no question of his having had any children After Kuṇāl's blindness, the next heir to the throne must have been either Kuṇāl's son, or in his absence another grandson, if there were any. We know that as long as Priyadarśin was not born, Aśoka had appointed his "grandson" Daśarath as his successor; and hence it is not unreasonable to come to the conclusion that this Daśarath was

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(17) This matter is already discussed once; for details read the appendix at the end of the book.

(18) Pp. 231, f. n. no. 28 above.

(19) Pp. 239 and pp. 231, f. n. no. 28.

(20) Pp. 237 above.

the son of the younger brother of Kuṇāl—the brother whose name we have yet to find out[21]. Daśarath must have been elder than Priyadarśin, who has born in A. M. 223=304 B. C.[22], when Kuṇāl was 32 to 33 years old[23]. This means that Kuṇāl had a son many years after his marriage[24]. His younger brother, who was his junior by a couple of years only, must have had a son much earlier than that and this son must have been Daśarath, who was thus elder than Samprati[25]. Aśoka must have declared Daśarath as his successor in absence of having any direct descendant; but when Priyadarśin was born, he must have changed the arrangement and must have appointed Daśarath as the independent king of the province of Magadh; and Priyadarśin must have continued him in the same position, due to his respect

(21) See the chronological list on pp. 236.

(22) The Christian New Year begins nearly two months and some days after the Hindu New Year (Vikram Erā). Hence, when we want to give the date of any event that has taken place during these intervening days or immediately after that, we are required to state two years of the Christian Era, viz. 304–303. He was born during the ascendancy of the Puṣya constellation, i. e. in the bright half of Poṣa. There were no two Poṣas during that year, otherwise one of them must have been stated as Adhik. Such "Adhik"—(additional)—months could be included during two months only—Poṣa & Aṣādh. (K. S. S. Com. pp. 131 and my article in the Chaitra Number of "Jaina Prakāś.") Taking all these things into consideration, his birth must have taken place on the 10th to 15th day of Poṣa. The full-moon day is given importance in the rock-edicts. It can be either due to that day being considered as important from the religious point of view or due to its being the birthday of Priyadarśin. Of these the latter cause is more probable.

(23) Because he was born in B. C. 337=A. M. 190. (Pp. 231 above).

(24) This was what grieved the heart of Aśoka. After Kuṇāl's losing his eyes on account of his carelessness, Aśoka had intended to atone for it by appointing Kuṇāl's son as the heir to the throne. Kuṇāl did not have any issue for a pretty long time. Aśoka was growing older; and hence, being anxious to appoint some one as his successor, he designated Daśarath as the next emperor. We know that this arrangement was provisional.

(25) Daśarath's father was born in 330 B. C. If we accept the hypothesis that he married at the age of 14, then the marriage must have taken place in 316 B. C. The probable date of Daśarath's birth, therefore, must be 314 B.C. Samprati was born nearly 11 years later in 303 B. C.

for his grandfather[26]. The separate branch, thus established, may have continued to rule Magadh upto 4th or 6th century A. D.

It might also be suggested that Priyadarśin must have added one more name to his already long list, by assuming the name Daśarath, after his accession to the throne, and thus Samprati, Priyadarśin and Daśarath may have been names of the same individual[27]. But the fact that, when Daśarath died, Priyadarśin appointed his brother Śāliśuk as the governor of Magadh[28], frustrates this theory. Śāliśuk was the governor of Saurāṣṭra at the time of this appointment.

Thus we come to the conclusion that Priyadarśin was the eldest son of Kuṇāl, that Daśarath was the son of the younger brother of Kuṇal and that Aśoka had appointed Daśarath as the next heir to the throne as long as Priyadarśin was not born.

Samprati was born in B. C. 304=A. M. 223. No sooner was Aśoka made aware of the happy fact that Kuṇal had a son than he sent for him from Avanti[29] to Pāṭliputra and declared him

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(26) Pp. 239 above; M. S. I, pp. 654:—"Evidence to the effect that Samprati ruled over Magadh is not wanting. According to Mr. Smith—Aśoka, Smith, pp. 70—" The Mauryan empire was divided into two parts after the death of Aśoka. The capital of the eastern portion was Pāṭliputra, and it was ruled by Daśarath. Ujjaini was the capital of the western portion and Samprati ruled over it. The Purāṇas have included Samprati in their chronological list of the emperors of Magadh."

(27) C. H. I. pp. 166:—The account of Daśarath, the governor of Magadh, contains the words, "Samprati, another grandson of Aśoka, who reigned probably at Ujjain." The writer has stated these words on the authority of a Jaina book. The book, however, does not have the word "another" in it, which the writer seems to have added on his own account. But one thing becomes clear from this and that is, Samprati, like Daśarath, was a grandson of Aśoka. (We have yet to decide whether Daśarath and Samprati are names of different individuals or of the same; and who succeeded Aśoka on the throne. Read the appendix at the end of the book for this).

(28) Pp. 239 above.

(29) For want of proper information, I have stated Avanti as the place of his birth. It is probable, however, that Kañchanmālā might have gone to her father's place, which was near the Bābhrā-vairāṭa edict, during her pregnancy and the child may have been born there, and then, later on, brought to Avanti.

as his successor to the throne. At this time Samprati was a babe of ten months[30]. He was born in Poṣa, and was proclaimed emperor probably on Vijayādaśmi. (P. 256 f. n. 5).

**The duration of his rule and of his life**

His coronation ceremony took place, as we have already stated, (P. 256), in A. M. 237=B. C. 290. This is independently supported by the fact that king Tissā of Ceylon died during the 26th year of the reign of Priyadarśin[31] (P. 238 f. n. 71).

Buddhist books contain no information about him, or the tenure of his reign, because he was not a Buddhist[32] but a Jain. The information supplied by the Jaina books is also misleading to a certain extent.[33]. Pundit Tāranāth, a Tibetian writer, states in his account of Khoṭān, that Sambāti (Samprati) reigned for 54 years[34]. Thus his reign lasted from 290 B. C. to 237 B. C. The chronological list of the kings who ruled over Ujjain, as given by the author of the Pariśiṣṭa-parva,[35] supports these dates[36]. In short, he was born in 223-4 A. M., was anointed king in 237 A. M.= 290=B. C., and he died in A. M. 290 B. C. 237 at the age of 67.

His picture gives us the idea that his complexion was fair

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(30) Baroda Library, Samprati Kathā—Manuscript—pp. 88.—The age of the child is stated to have been ten days in place of months. It seems improbable that a ten-day-old child could be safely brought from Avanti to Pāṭaliputra.

(31) Tissā died in (290-26), 264-3 B. C. (F. n. no. 71 for the chronological list of the kings of Ceylon). This king, queerly enough, came to the throne when Samprati was born, and died when Samprati got the rock-edicts erected.

(32) For details see the account of his rock-edicts.

(33) Vol. I. pp. 195 and f. n. about it.

(34) Smith, Aśoka, pp. 82—"The accession of Aśoka apparently 48 or 49 years earlier in B. C. 301 or 302, assigning 54 years to his reign."

Mr. Smith has borrowed this from Paṇḍit Tārānāth's account of prince Kusthan of Tibet. Only he has interpolated the word "apparently," because he does not seem to have full faith in the Paṇḍit's account of Aśoka. Mr. Smith has erred into the belief that the person (Dharmāśoka) whose account is given by the Paṇḍit, was Aśoka. But Aśoka's reign lasted for 41 years, while that of Priyadarśin lasted for 54 years.

(35) F. n. no. 33 above.

and awe-inspiring on account of broad forehead and chest. He was kind-hearted, brave and peace-loving. His height must have been between nine feet and ten.[37] The Stūpas built by him—Sañchī, Bhārhut and others—testify to the truth of this statement. The entrances to these Stūpās are not less than 9 ft. and 7·5 in, in height[38]. It is a well-known custom among the Jains that their temple-doors are always of less height than the persons who enter it, so that every one who enters it, first bends his head, conciously or unconciously, as a mark of respect. Priyadarśin's height, therefore, must have been somewhat more than 9 ft. and 7·5 inches; and his height gives us an idea of the average height of men during those times.

His rock-edicts tell us that he had a large family and that he had given shelter to all his relatives—far and near.

Jaina books state that the number of his queens was pretty large[39]. Even after granting that scholars have committed the same kind of blunder as that of identifying Sandrecottus with

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(36) In rock-edict no. 13, names of five contemporary Yavan kings have been given. They also support our theory. Pp. 232 above. The names are:—

(1) Antiyok—King of Syria, Antiocus II (B. C. 262 to 246). According to my conclusions, this king must have been Antiocus I. My opinion is supported by M. S. I. pp. 19. It is stated that Antiocus I was called "Sorter", while Antiocus II was called "Theos." His rule lasted from B. C. 280 to 262.

(2) Turumaya, king of Egypt, Ptolemy II, Philadalphus: B. C. 285 to 247.

(3) Muc—Megus of Syrin, B. C. 300 to 250.

(4) Antikini—Antigonus Gaunts of Macedonia; B. C. 276 to 239.

(5) Alexander—Alexander of Kārinth, B. C. 252-244.

He was not king of Kārinth but of Epirus. His reign lasted from 272 B. C. to 255; because Priyadarśin's coronation ceremony was performed in 289 B. C. and he finished his conquest tour in 282 B. C. Then there was a regular exchange of ambassadors between the two.

(37) No doubt, the reader will not readily believe this. Mahāvīr, however, who lived 200 years before him, was 10 ft. 6 ins. tall (Vol. I. pp. 29 f. n. no. 60).

(38) Bhilsā Topes; Bhārhut stūpa.

(39) Pp. 205 above, f. n. no. 48.

Chandragupta[40], it is quite possible that he had at least two queens. (1) The name of the queen consort is not known; probably the heir-apparent was not born of her[41]. (2) The second queen, Chāruvākī[42] is mentioned by Priyadarśin himself in the Pillar at Allahbad (3) Again, he seems to have married the sister of Sātkarani II of the Āndhra dynasty of southern India. (Probably Chāruvākī was this sister. F. N. 42). Jaina books proclaim that during his conquest tour, he married numerous princesses of defeated kings[43] (the number is 16000). Looking to his prowess, the extent of his territory and the length of his reign, it is not unreasonable to conclude that his harem must have been crowded with a

His family

(40) Pp. 205 above, f. n. no. 48.

(41) Smith, Aśoka, pp. 198, f. n. no. 3.—It is stated there about Kāruvākī (Chāruvākī), that the names are spelled Tibal and Kūluvakī in the dilect of Magadh. The second queen was evidently in high favour as the mother of a son, who might succeed to the throne, but he seems to have predeceased his father. This statement is based on the authority of the rock-edicts. Prince Tibal though he was born of Kūluvakī, who was not the queen-consort, must have been the heir-apparent, but we know that the name of the heir-apparent was Vṛṣasen, who was the governor of Afghānistān during the rule of Priyadarśin. Had his name been Tival, it would have been mentioned in the rock-edicts, just as the names Daśarath, Śāliśuk and others are mentioned. This divergence can be explained as follows.—(1) Either Vṛṣasen was next in age to Tibal and might have been appointed successor after the latter's death, (2) or, Vṛṣasen might have been junior in age, but must have been declared heir-apparent because he was born of the queen-consort. The first theory is the more reasonable of the two, because generally the eldest son is appointed as the heir-apparent, irrespective of the queen of whom he is born. Thus Mr. Smith's conclusions are in keeping with my own.

(42) Smith, Aśoka, pp. 198, f. n. no. 3.—"Kūluvakī is a family or gotra name, meaning—of the Karuvakī race". If this is so, she was probably the daughter of the king of Āndhra (read above, no. 3.) Cf. f. n. no. 41 above, and 43 below.

(43) Sudarśan lake inscription, Epi. Ind. vol. 8, pp. 41 and further in this vol. on the Āndhra dynasty. Chāruvākī might have been the sister of Śātakarṇi. Read further, this chapter.

pretty large number of queens[44]. (4) Kalhaṇ has stated in his Rājataraṅgiṇi that Dharmāśoka had conquered Kaśmir and that after him his son Jālauk occupied the throne of Kaśmir. Jainism was prevalent in Kaśmir even before its conquest by Dharmāśoka, who was himself a Jain. Mr. T. W. Thomes has supported this. The name of the queen of this conqueror of Kaśmir, was Iśāndevī[45] I have already proved that this Dharmāśoka is none else but Priyadarśin[46] (Appendix at the end of this volume) and he had appointed his son Jālauk as the governor of Kaśmir. This leads us to the conclusion that Iśāndevī must have been one of the queens of Priyadarśin[47] and the mother of Jālauk. The name of the son of Chāruvākī was Tivar. These two names-Jālauk and Tivar-do not seem to have been based on astrological rules, but they must have been names given to them by writers in keeping with their habit of giving suggestive names. The different names connote different individuals with different mothers. (5) It is certain that none of these two was the heir-apparent, which means that still another queen must have been the mother of the heir-apparent. If either Iśāndevī or Chāruvākī had been the mother of the heir-apparent, either of them would have been raised to the position of queen consort. Again, the name of either of them, must have been connected with the name of the heir-apparent, just as their names are connected with the names of their own sons. Thus, considering all things, at least five queens must have been the inmates of his harem. Hence it is no exaggeration to say that he had many queens[48].

(44) Pp. 205 f. n. no. 48, and appendix A, at the end of the book, specially pertaining to No. 5.

(45) Bhāratiya Prāchin Rājvaṁśa, vol. II, pp. 133-34: In Rājataraṅgiṇi the name given is Iśvarādevī.

(46) Dharmāśoka is considered by them as an exploded myth, because they thought that he lived during the6th century, A. D. But their calculation is wrong.

(47) In Taraṅga I, verse 122, of Rājataraṅgiṇi she is introduced as the wife of Jālauk; but this statement is only one of the many inaccuracies that are found in the first and the second part of the book.

(48) P. 205 above, f. n. no. 48.

The name of the heir-apparent[49] was Vṛssen. He was probably not born of the chief queen. The Tibetian books tell us that prince Vṛṣasen was appointed as the governor of the province on the other side of the Indus[50]. The chronological list of the Maurya kings, as supplied by Purāṇas, contains his name. Hence he succeeded Priyadarśin on the throne of Ujjain[51]. The second prince was Tivar[52], who had a sister named Chārumatī. Both of them were children of Chāruvākī, as the pillar-edicts tell us. Chārumatī was given in marriage to Devpāl, the king of Nepal.

**Sons and daughters**

His rock-edicts reveal the fact that he had divided his vast empire into several provinces, had appointed the members of the royal family, including relatives-far and near-as governors of these provinces. Such governors are called "Devkumārs" in the rock-edits.[53] Names of some of the provinces[54] over which such Devkumārs were appointed are given blow:—(1) Saurasṭra (2) Gāndhār-Taxilā; (3) Kaśmir, (4) Kauśambi (5) Khotān. (6) Nepāl (7) Tibeṭ. (8) Sindh. (9) Afghanistan. (10) Suvarṇagiri[55], (11) Keral district—main part of Malbār. (12) The province, the capital of which was Isilā; it included modern Mysore state. (13) The province, the capital of which was Tosali; it included modern district of Gunjam, some portion of Northern circars in Madras, and the

(49) He was not the heir-apparent at first, (f. n. no. 41 above) he was declared as the successor when the heir-apparent died. (See rock-edicts of Śāhbājgrahi and Manśera about the death of prince Suman.)

(50) The real name is Sinddhu. It ought to be the region on the other side of the Indus, because he was the Governor of Afghānistān.

(51) Pp. 236, the chronological list.

(52) The real name of Tivar is as yet unknown; he may have come to the throne of Avanti, having assumed another name; it is as good as certain that he must have been appointed as governor of the region about the Kauśāmbī-Allahbad-rock-edict. (Cf. f. n. no. 41).

(53) Bh. Aśoka, pp. 49-50:—"Kumāras were appointed as governors of provinces."

(54) Chap. IV, later on; details about "administration."

(55) Bh. Aśoka, pp. 49, f. n. no. 1.

region around Jagannāthpuri and Kaṭak. Of these, for Jālauk, the reader is referred to Appendix D; for Kusthan, read further. Their names, however, have not been mentioned. Over and above the Devkumārs, some Āryakumārs also were appointed to these positions.

It will not be out of place here, to mention one or two important names, over and above the names of sons and daughters. The most important, of course, is Daśarath, details about whom we have already given (P. 239 and elsewhere). Another personage who deserves our attention is Śāliśūk, the younger brother of Priyadarśin[56]. His mother being dead shortly after his birth, and being the younger brother of the future emperor, he was brought up rather freely and unrestrictedly. Hence, during his prime of youth, his behaviour was so rude and his temperament so haughty that numerous complaints were lodged against him before the emperor. Priyadarśin called him in his presence, reprimanded him in the presence of his subjects[57] and shed tears at the miseries inflicted upon them. Śāliśūk took the matter to heart and remained into voluntary solitary confinement for seven days[58] at the end of which he humbly asked his elder brother to forgive him and to send him to a foreign country. In compliance with his request

(56) Buddhiprakāśa, vol. 76, no 3, pp. 89 to 93:—The statements given there are based on Vāyupurāṇ. One of them is:—"Samprati, the elder brother of Śāliśūk, the governor of Saurāṣṭra." (Appendix C at the end of the book.)

(57) F. n. no. 58 below.

(58) This whole account is given by Prof. Rādhākumud Muckerjee in his "Aśoka," pp. 6. It is as follows:—"Huen Tśang, calling him Mahendra, relates that he used his birth to violate the laws, lead a dissolute life and oppress the people, till the matter was reported to Aśoka by his high ministers and old statesmen. Then Aśoka, in tears, explained to his brother, how awkward was his position due to his own conduct. Mahendra, confessing quiet, asked for a reprieve of seven days, during which by the practice of contemplation in a dark chamber he became an Arhat." The statement that the name "Mahendra" was given by Huen Tśang, seems to be based on conjecture. The prince did not actually become an Arhat—too high a stage to be attained in seven days. (Cf. the details given below about, as to whether to whom the story given can be applied). Cf. "Buddhiprakāśa," vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 59.

he was appointed as the governor of Saurastra. During his governorship, once the dam-wall of Sudarśan gave way causing much ruin and havoc. Śāliśūk got it repaired and got his name inscribed on the edict. Whenever Priyadarśin, to-gether with a large number of people, visited Girnār for religious purposes[59], Śāliśūk used to make the finest possible arrangements for his brother. When Daśarath, the king—or the governor—of Magadh died-presumably childless—Śāliśūk was appointed in his place. His dynasty continued to rule Magadh upto 5th century A. D., though there were one or two breaks in it. One break occurred during the time of the Suṅgā king Puṣyamitra, and another during the time of the Gupta emperor, Chandragupta I. The kings of this dynasty had acknowledged the suzerainty of emperor Samudragupta.

Another important personage who deserves our attention is Devpāl, the son-in-law of Priyadarśin, and the husband of princess Chārumatī. He had been appointed as the governor of the region, at present comprising Nepāl, Bhuṭān and Tibeṭ. This territory was conquered by Priyadarśin during the 14th year of his rule, when he reached there while on his conquest tour[60] and where stand to-day the rock-edicts of Nigliv and Rumindiāi. When he visited the region again during the 20th year of his reign, he had taken with him princess Chārumatī[61], and on his way back, he returned alone leaving the princess with her husband. The princess was very religious-minded and had got many vihāras and temples built.[62] At last she entred the Jaina holy orders and

(59) See the rock-edict of Bābhrā-Vairāṭ.

(60) That Samprati was a Jain, who visited this place as a holy centre of pilgrimage, proves that the Nigliv and Rumindiāi are not Buddhist religious places, but Jaina ones. (Vide the account of Priyadarśin; pp. 31 to 38, where many arguments have been given.

(61) Bhāratiya Prāchin Rājavaṁśa, vol. II, pp. 132:—This is taken as a myth there. But the reasons are not stated by the author. He must have dubbed it as a myth because he could not find out any reference to it in the account of Aśoka, and it could not be found there because it pertains to Samprati, whose name is not mentioned in the Buddhist books.

(62) Jainism flourished there before their time, because it was conquered by the son of Prasenjit of Kośal.

became a nun.[63] The descendants of Devpāl were known as kings of the "Pāl" dynasty, which ruled wisely over Nepāl for a long time.[64] Devpāl himeself was a staunch Jain. Like Pryadrśin, he had also spared no pains to spread Jainism into all corners of the country and had got numerous monasteries, temples and Vihāras (now known as Upāśraya built. Both he and Priyadarśin had sent missionaries to distant countries for the spread of Jainism. These missionaries (Dhamma-mahāmātras) were not quite the Jaina monks, who renounce the world and hence preached the gospel of Jainism imperfectly. The result was that though the people in the countries which they visited, grasped the essential principles of Jainism, yet their beliefs, opinions, and religious rites differed in many ways from those preached in Jainism proper. Hence even in Nepāl proper, though people continued to follow Jainism, their Jainism differed in many ways from the original faith. (Chap. I, Part III; see details about Buddhism). In the course of time, temples to gods like Sun and Śiva were erected[65] and thus we see the results of imperfect[66] preaching.

Upto this time Pāṭliputra was the capital of Magadh. The Mauryan empire having spread itslf almost throughout the whole of India, it was not found advisable to have the seat of the

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(63) She must have become a nun after the death of her husband.

(64) Bh. P. R. Bh. II, pp. 101:—Devpāl—(better it is to say, Samprati), founded Lalitapaṭṭaṇ as the capital of Nepāl. Its ruins can be seen near the modern capital, Khaṭamaṇḍu. Lilitapaṭṭaṇ was also called Devpaṭṭaṇ from the name of its founder. (E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 162).

Aśoka, Smith, pp. 77:—"Lalitapaṭṭaṇ 2 miles S. E. of Khaṭamaṇḍu was laid out by king Aśoka, as the capital of Nepāl."

Ibid pp. 78:—"Aśoka was accompanied in his pilgrimage (in Nepāl) by his daughter Chārumatī, the wife of a kṣatriya named Devpāl: both the husband and the wife settled in Nepāl near the holy shrine of Paśupati where they founded and peopled Devpaṭṭaṇ."

(65) This will make it clear that the original religion of the Nepālese was Jainism, though a little perverted (cf. f. n. no. 66 below).

(66) Chap. I part III; Buddha himself was first a Jaina monk and hence the similarities between Buddhism and Jainism.

capital in a corner of it. Again, as we know, as long as Priyadarśin was not born, Daśarath was appointed as the next heir by Aśoka. When, however, Priyadarśin was born, Aśoka appointed Daśarath as the governor of Magadha province, with Pātliputra as its capital. The dutiful Priyadarśin continued the arrangement of his grandfather and hence arose the necessity of choosing a new capital for the empire[67].

His capital

As we have already seen, the political importance of Avanti was only next to that of Magadh. It was, indeed, a custom to appoint the heir-apparent as the governor of this province. Moreover, it was situated in the centre of the empire. From the astrological and astronomical point of view the experts had given their choice to this city.[68] The famous astrologer Varāhamihir[69] and his elder brother Bhadrabāhu-the great Jaina monk under whom Chandragupta had entered the Jaina holy order,—who was more proficient than his brother[70], had started the calculations of latitude from Ujjain[71]. From the religious point of view, also Avanti scored the palm as against any province[72]. The two capitals of the two divisions of Avanti[73],—Vidiśā of the east, and Ujjaini of the west-were flourishing industrial and commercial[74]

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(67) Pp. 152 f. n. no. 47.

(68) Pp. 53 above.

(69) The Vedic books tell us that he lived during the 5th or 6th century B. C.; but that Varāhamihir must have been another individual. The one whom we refer to here lived in about A. M. 140=B. C. 387. A native of Paiṭhaṇ in the south, he had become a Jaina monk like his elder brother, Bhadrabāhu. For details read Bharateśvar Bāhubali.

(70) The Bharateśvara Bāhubali throws much light on the learnedness of these two brothers. His elder brother's superiority was the cause which made Varāhamihir enter the Jaina holy orders.

(71) It may have been before their time. As no proofs are, however, available, we have taken this time as the beginning.

(72) For details, vide the account of Chandragupta.

(73) Vol. I. pp. 178-181; E. I. vol. VIII; Sudarśan lake inscription, pp. 39 and further.

centres, healthy from climatic considerations also. The Jains themselves are more or less ignorant of the religious importance of these places, though Priyadarśin was one of the staunchest Jains[75]. (We shall discuss this when we come to the account of rock and pillar edicts[76].) This Avanti was selected from various points of view.

So Priyadarśin changed his seat of capital to Avanti. He divided the province into two parts[77], with Vidiśā as the capital of the eastern portion and Ujjaini as that of the western[78]. The Suṅga kings who established their rule when the Mauryan empire ended, continued to have their capital here. It enjoyed this position during the rule of many subsequent dynasties, because of its central position and only with the advent of the Muslims was the seat of the capital shifted to Delhi.

It is stated in Buddhist books that during the last two or three years of his life Aśoka had given over the whole of the empire in charity. This statement does not bear out any piece of historical evidence[79]. For 14 years he was a mere regent for Priyadarśin and a man like Aśoka would not make a travesty of his regency by giving away in charity what did no longer belong to him. Priyadarśin would not have been proclaimed emperor, had Aśoka given over the whole of his empire in charity. Again, even after the period of regency was over and Priyadarśin became full-fledged emperor, Aśoka was alive for 20 years and certainly he could

The conquest tour

(74) Vol. I. pp. 18 f. n. no. 32.

(75) More details are given on pp. 189 to 194 of vol I. and also in the account of Chandragupta in this vol. also f. n. no. 76 below.

(76) F. n. no. 72 above. Full details will be given in my "Life of Mahāvīr", which is to be published in a short time.

(77) Whether this division was made from climatic considerations or otherwise is not known. It was certainly made for some political purpose.

(78) J. B. B. R. A. S IX, pp. 154:—"His (Kuṇāl's) son Samprati reigned in Ujjain." Bh. P. R. vol. II, pp. 135; and f. n. no. 105 further.

(79) Pp. 250 above, and f. n. no. 120.

not have given over anything during this period of complete retirement. All these considerations lead us to the conclusion that either the statement in the Buddhist books is false[80], or at least a highly exaggerated description is given there of Aśoka's charities. Certain it is that Aśoka must have given over certain provinces in charity; otherwise Priyadarśin would not have divided his empire[81] into already "surrendered" and "conquered by his own valour" provinces.

When Priyadarśin came to the throne, he found the empire in an unsteady condition[82] and he decided to consolidate it. Beginning from Avanti in the west, he conquered one by one Maru, Saurāṣṭra. Śvabhra[83], Cutchha, Ānarta[84] within nearly 2½ years. Next he began with Gāndhār[85] and subdued Kamboj[86], Kaśmir[87], Yona[88], Afganistan[89], Persia, Arabia[90] and Babylonia.

(80) Many such instances can be given; vol. I. pp. 273 f. n. no. 94 & 96; C. H. I. Pp. 49.

(81) Sudarśan Lake inscription; Epi. Ind. vol. VIII, pp. 39 and further; scholars believe that it was Rudradāman who got it inscribed; it is my conviction that Priyadarśin is its author; refer to the appendix at the end of the book for arguments in favour of the theory.

(82) Coronation ceremony A. M. 237=B. C. 290–89, a year after this means in 289 B. C.

(83) The region around the modern Ahmedabad and Sābarmatī.

(84) It seems to have been a part of central Kāthiāwād, and not of Gujarāt. (Buddhiprakāśa, 1934, no. I).

(85–86) Vol. I, chap. IV.

(87) It is not certain whether he conquered Kāśmir during this tour or during his conquest tour of Nepāl, Tibeṭ and Khotān. It is stated in the Gāndhār rock-edict:—(Ind. Ant. vol. 37, pp. 342, art. by Mr. Thomas), "Pārśvanāth attained supreme knowledge here, and the Taksillā rock-edict contains his name."

M. S. I. pp. 448:—It is found out that besides Kaling, Aśoka (it ought to be Priyadarśin) conquered Kāśmir also, which did not form a part of the empire either of Chandragupta or of Bindusār." Ibid, pp. 449,—"The region which was ceded to Chandragupta (it ought to be Aśoka) by Seleucus did not include Kāśmir"—i. e. it was conquered by Priyadarśin, who had also conquered the neighbouring provinces of Yona (Bactria), Khoṭān and Tibeṭ. Mr. Thomas

In short he subdued all the territory lying between India and the

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has called Aśoka to have been a Jain, in his edition of Rājataraṅgiṇi; it ought to be Priyadarśin; (cf. First Taraṅga verses nos. 101 to 106); Appendix on Jālauk at the end of the book. He not only conquered Kāśmir but found Śrīnagarī as its capital. Bh. P. Rājavaṁśī, pt. II, pp. 101.

Sir Cunningham says in his "Ancient Coins of India", pp. 62:—"A large coin was found in a stūpa at Uskar in Kāśmir". (For details about this coin, vide pp. 61 no. 4, plate I, no. 4).

(88) The region around the river Oxus on the N. W. of Mount Ḥindukuś and on the N. E. of Afaghānistān—Bactria—was called Yona during those times. "Yona" and 'Yavan" had different meanings at first: the yonas were a branch of the yavanas; later on both the words began to connote the same thing, (f. n. 93 below; vol. I. p. 38 and 99).

Trans. of Aśoka by G. V. S.-(Dr. Bhandarkar) p. 27:—"The Greeks inhabites the N. W. Frontier of India before the time of Alexander; the region was between the rivers Kofan and the Indus." This proves that the Bactrians were originaly Greeks and had migrated to this territory before the time of Alexander; they were not a section of the generals of Alexander as is commonly supposed. For details read Vol. III–the chapter on foreigners.

(89) We know that Seleucus had ceded Afganistan and certain other territories to Aśoka according to the terms of the treaty. Priyadarśin, though he inherited them, must have found it necessary to consolidate his power over them. General Cunnigham has stated in C. A. I. pp. 62:—"Double coins with elephant and lion types are very common, not only in the western Punjāb but also in the Kābul valley." (Coins nos. 5–6). This makes it clear that Priyadarśin's power extended over these territories. F. n. no. 85, 87 above, about Gāndhār; again he had got the Māṇikyāl Stūpa erected there. (Details about Stūpas given further; and vol. I. pp. 294 and f. n. no. 78; and ibid pp. 37 and f. n. no. 82).

(90) The Jaina missionaries must certainly have sown seeds of the faith in Arabia also. Nearly a century and a half later, Jāvaḍaśāh, a Jain of Mahuvā (Madhumāvanti) in Kathiawar, ruled it. The same Jāvaḍaśāh got the Śatrunjaya temples repaired at the instance of the greatest Jaina monk of the time, Vajra Sūri, in A. M. 470=B. C. 57. Thus Jainism had spread in Arabia before and after the time of Jāvaḍaśāh. (Another piece of evidence has been published, which supports this theory.) I do not remember the title of the book, nor have I any extract at hand to quote from it; it is probably one of the numbers of R. A. S. It is as follows:—A certain European traveller

kingdom of Antiocus I, the son of Seleucus Necator–the father-in-law of Aśoka. There existed no Persian * empire at that time. Then he had to encounter five kings:—(1) The king of Syria. (2) The king of Asia Minor, (3) The Greek Chief. (4) The king of strait of Suez[91] lying S. W. of Syria (5) and the king of Egypt. Three of them seem to have accepted the suzerainty of Priyadarśin. With the remaining two yavana kings[92], Priyadarśin entered into friendly alliance and sent ambassadors to their courts[93]. All of them were impressed with his prowess to such an

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secretly entered the holy place of the Muslims; the moment he saw the black stone—considered very holy by the Muslims—he was certain that it was not merely a boulder, but a carved idol of the Jains. Some of the invaders upon India must have carried it over there, together with their booty. If this is a fact, it establishes the existence of Jainism in Arabia.

The crescent-moon with a star in it, which is the religious sign of the Muslims, seems to have been imitated from the Siddha sign ◡̇ of the Jains. (Coins, pp. 49 and 52). The Chaṣṭhaṇ kings of Ujjain had the "star and crescent" as their sign. This shows that both the Muslims and the Chaṣṭhaṇ kings were originally Jains. (F. n. no. 98, 99 below).

* Persia was a dependency, right from the invasion of Alexander in 328 B. C. to the death of Priyadarśin in B. C. 237; the Persian chronological list does not contain any single name who ruled Persia during this time. F. n. no. 93 below.

(91) We know that the canal was dug here a century ago only.

(92) See f. n. no. 88 for the different meanings of "Yona" and "Yavana"; the inhabitants of Iona—the ancient name for Greece—were called Ionians, which in course of time became "Yavanas." The word, later on, included in its connotation the natives of neighbouring countries like Syria, Babylon and others. Then the Bactrians were also given this name. Thus 'Yona' and 'Yavana' began to be used as synonyms.

(93) B. I. pp. 272:—"Greeks tell us that Deimachos was sent as an ambassador by Antiochos and Dionysios by Ptolemy of Philadelphos." They were the kings of Egypt and Macedonia; they must not have been conquered by him and hence no representatives must have been sent from them.

On pp. 45 (rock-edict, 13), of Aśoka by Bhāndārkar, it is stated that Antiochus II, Theos of Syria, was the king of a conterminous country to India—though strangely enough he is also described as a king of territory far from India,—which means that Priyadarśin's empire had spread upto

extent that the Greek historians gave him the name "Amitrochades"[94]—one who has no enemy left unconquered. Jaina books have given him the name Amitraghāt.[95].

That a king sends ambassadors to the courts of other kings does not mean that he was subdued by them. Hence the statement in the Jaina books that he had conquered the kings of Greece and Egypt does not warrant belief.[96] Perhaps he made some of the provinces outside the Śākadvīpa, his quasi-dependent states. They were, however, on very intimate terms with him; so much so that when Priyadarśin sent Jaina missionaries to their countries, they unrestrictedly allowed them to preach the Jaina gospel.[97] They did much fruitful work there[98]; but only the Essenes

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Syria. That a certain region was conterminous with the Indian Empire means that the countries lying between the boundry of India and of that country were included within the fold of the empire. Otherwise quite neighbouring countries like Sindh, Baluchistān, Afaghānistān, Persia, Irāk, Mesopotemia or Arabia must have been mentioned as conterminous. The Greek history also tells us that Seleucus had to recede upto Greece; i. e. his power over the territories lying between India and Greece was over. As regards Persia, the chronological list contains names of kings who ruled from B. C. 500 to 300, after which there is a blank for nearly 150 years. Thus the Mauryan Empire under Priyadarśin extended upto Syria.

(94) Pp. 257 f. n. no. 13 see also f. n. no. 95 below.

(95) "Amitraghāt" also means "the destroyer of the enemies." C. H. I. pp. 495:—"Slayer of foes or enemies." Pp. 257 f. n. no. 13 & 14 and pp. 263 f. n. no. 43 and f. n. no. 83 to 90 above.

(96) i. e. he conquered all the countries which comprise modern Asia (called Śākadvīp in ancient books). He formed friendly alliances with countries on the other side of the ocean.

(97) G. V. S. Aśoka, pp. 143. (A foreign king allows missionaries of another religion only, when he is more or less impressed by the king who has patronized that religion).

(98) Syria and Palestine; Jerusalem is the capital and the holiest place of the Christians. To the Jews also this place is very sacred. Many points of similarity are found between Christianity and Jainism—thanks to the spread of Jainism there by Priyadarśin. (F. n. no. 89).

of[99] Syria, among them, seemed to have accepted Jainism as their faith in the 3rd century B. C. Dr. Bhandarker in his "Aśoka" P. 165, states on the authority of the Encyclopaedia of religions and Ethics, P. 401, that, "One such sect is that of Essenes[100] whose clergy formed a small monastic Jewish order, with their quaint semi—ascetic practices and lived on the shores of the Dead sea" Further on he states, "And it has long since been admitted by scholars that they were indebted to Buddhism for some of their important characteristics. It has also been admitted that the Essenes were in existence even before the rise of Christianity." These statements agree with my views except that in place of "Buddhism" there ought to be "Jainism." With the rise of Christianity these people were converted to it.

Thus having completed his conquest tour over the provinces west of Avanti[101], he returned to his capital after an interval of 2½ years.[102] After a short time, he started towards the south. The first king whom he encountered was Skandha[103], the sixth Āndhra king of the Śātakarṇi dynasty, who had also conquered Kaliṅg. Āndhras had declared themselves independent since the time of Bindusār. Even Aśoka had to send his missionaries to Ceylon by the sea-route, starting from the flowing of the river Mahānadi into the ocean. He was defeated by Priyadarśin and was forced to acknowledge his suzerainty and to give his daughter in marriage to the royal family of the conqueror[104]. Priyadarśin accepted tribute[105] from him and continued him on the throne. Then he

(99) F. n. no. 89 and 98 above.

(100) F. n. no. 98, 99 and 89 above.

(101) Chap. II. art. on "Religious tour."

(102) Rock-edict no. 13.

(103) At first I believed that the battle was fought with the seventh Āndhra king, Śātakarṇi II; later researches tell me that the battle was fought with his father, the sixth Āndhra king, whose name was Skandh.

(104) Vide the account of Āndhra further on; and f. n. no. 42 and 43 above.

(105) Nāgarī Prachāriṇi Patrikā, vol. X, pt. 4, pp. 665, com. 63: "It is stated in Niśithachūrṇi that Samprati subdued Kāthiāwār and Dakṣiṇāpath; this is one of the authoritative Jaina books; ibid. Pp. 665:—"Samprati of Ujjain subdued the whole of Dakṣiṇāpath and Kāthiāwār."

marched further into the south, and subdued the kings of the Cholās, of the region about the Coromandal coast[106], and of the Paṇḍyas[107], and accepted tribute from them. Then came the turn of the provinces of Keral kingdom of the Cherās—and Mysore[108], which had been formerly subdued by Chandragupta. He returned to Avanti having conquered the region of Aparānt. It is not known whether he had an opportunity to go to Ceylon. This tour of the south took him 2 to 2½ years.

While he was on his way to his capital, there seems to have arisen a rebellion[109] in the north of Punjab[110]. His son, who was in charge of Avanti,[111] went there, and was successful in suppressing the rebellion. In a second rising, he was murdered[112] by some conspirators.

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(106) See the coins found out from that region (coins nos. 73, 74–86); they contain the Elephant and the Ujiain sign and the name of Pulumāvī, the Āndhra king. Thus, that country was first ruled by the sixth Āndhra king and then he was subdued by Priyadarśin.

(107) J. S. I. pp. 33:—"The earliest lithic records in the Tāmil country are the famous Brāhmī inscriptions found in the districts of Madurā and Rāmnāḍ. These are written in the alphabet of the Aśokan edicts and are assigned to the end of the 3rd cent. B. C. (Madras Epi. Rec. 1907, pp. 60–61)." Thus Samprati not only got the rock and pillar edicts erected, but pillar-inscriptions also and perhaps he must have got carved out idols too. It is also proved that the boundary of his empire extended upto Siddhapur and Brahmagiri rock-edict.

(108) The Cholā, Pāṇḍya and the Cherā chiefs were originally members of the royal family, appointed as governors of these provinces by Chandragupta; they had become a bit independent in the meanwhile; Priyadarśin merely subjugated them and continued them on their original positions. Hence Andhra has been stated as the bordering land in the rock-edicts, and these provinces have been left aside. (Chap. IV; and the account of the Āndhras in vol. IV).

(109) Account of Nand I in vol. I and f. n. concerning him; coins nos. 67 to 72.

(110) King Pulusāki ruled over this region; since then, i. e. since B. C. 600, it had been a centre of political uprisings (Vol. I, account of Kamboja-Gāndhār.

(111) R. W. W. vol. I, pp. 140, f. n. no. 52.—"There was a rising in the Punjāb 50 years after the death of Alexander," i. e. in B. C. 277=A. M. 250; the date according to our calculations is A. M. 243–44.

For efficient administration over such a vast empire, he found it necessary and wise, to devide it into suitable political divisons and appoint members of the royal family as governors over those provinces which were not ruled by vassal kings. No emperor of India ever wielded such consolidated power over such a vast empire.[113].

**How he began to abhor battles**

Priyadarśin had not been more than eight months in Avanti, when he had again occasion to fight in the south. The sixth Āndhra king was dead nearly two years ago. He was succeeded by his son, a young, clever and haughty man who found it difficult to remain under the subjugation of Magadh. He rose in rebellion. Samprati marched against him with a large army. A severe and bloody battle was fought, in which, the Āndhra king, having put in brave resistance, was defeated. Priyadarśin could not bear the sight of his soldiers as well as the soldiers of his enemy being ruthlessly butchered; and consequently decided to avoid battles in future as far as possible[114]. This was during the ninth year of his rule. (B. C. 281 or A. M. 246).

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(112) The name of this son was probably Susīma or Suman. If we take "Susīma" as the name of Bindusār's son, who had also gone to the Punjāb to suppress the rebellion, then "Suman" must have been the name of Priyadarśin's son. (Pp. 236). (If the quotation cited above from R. W. W. refers to Sandrecottus, it is not to be relied upon. There was, however, a rising in the Punjāb in 236 B. C., after the death of Priyadarśin and during the rule of Vṛṣabhasen. Then the time for it must be taken as 100 years after the death of Alexander. I do not put much value upon that quotation, any way).

(113) Eight thousand kings served under him. His army consisted of fifty thousand elephants, ten million horses, seventy million infantry and ten million chariots. (Bh. Bā. V. Trans. pp. 177).

(114) The words in the rock-edict, referring to this, have been interpreted to mean that he took a vow to fight no more battles. They do not mean so. The meaning is that he took a vow not to kill any one except in a battle and not to fight a battle unnecessarily. After this decision of his, he had no occasion to fight big battles, because wherever he challenged any king to a battle, the king sought safety in acknowledging his suzerainty. See the Sudarśan Lake Inscription. His vows have been mentioned there.

The next three years and a half he utilized in religious activities, which made his name eternal in the history of the world. Details of this will be given later on. He had found it necessary to subdue as many territories as possible in order to spread Jainism as widely as possible. Hence he had brought under his power the greater part of Jambudvīpa and certain portions of Śākadvīpa. Then he cast his eyes over the mount Meru, having subdued the northern portion ot Jambudvīpa. Hence he invaded Nepāl and defeated its king Sthunko[115]—(the 14th year of his rule, in B. C. 277=A. M. 250[116]). He appointed his son-in-law, Devpāl as its governor for he had already adopted the policy of appointing governors over provinces he subjugated. A new capital was founded there and numerous temples, Vihāras and Upāśrayas, were built. He also visited the places where stand the rock-edicts of Nigliv and Rumindiāi[117], because these were Jaina holy places. Having thus arranged things in Nepāl[118], he advanced towards Tibeṭ[119] and Khoṭān[120]. He conquered Tibeṭ and then Khoṭān,

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(115) Smith, Aśoka, pp. 78:—The Kirātas were powerful in Nepāl with Sthunko as the local rājā, in those times. See also no. 118 below.

Articles on Aśoka, by Rāmāvatār Śarmā, pref. pp. 2:—"The empire of Aśoka extended to Nepāl with its cities Mujapaṭṭan, Lalitapaṭṭaṇ, etc. etc.".

(116) F. n. no. 118 below.

(117) See the rock-edicts there; f. n. no. 128 below.

(118) The Bhilsā Topes, pp. 97, f. n.:—"Nepāl was probably included in the conquests of Aśoka, for the kings of Tibeṭ trace their origin to the Lichchhavīs of Vaiśālī, and king Khrī-tśanpo; the first king is said to have taken refuge in Tibeṭ in about B. C. 250. (See Princep's useful tables, pp. 131; list of Tibetan king).

Thus the kings of Nepāl and Tibeṭ were of Lichchhavī origin; f. n. no. 120 below; cf. the origin of Mauryas given on pp. 148 to 150 above; see also the ending portion of f. n. no. 120 below.

(119) He had conquered Tibeṭ and so he was able to bring good artists from it for the sculpture and carving of Sāranāth and Bhārahut stūpas.

(120) Smith, Aśoka, pp. 81:—"It is also alleged that Aśoka, king of Āryāvarta, visited Khoṭān in the 250 year after the death of Buddha, and that he was the contemporary of Śī-Huang, the famous Chinese emperor, who built the great wall."

Having also appointed governors over these provinces, he marched into Asian Turkey[121], where are situated cities like Tāskand,

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Pandit Tāranāth has also alluded to this in his book; and the year given by him is 250; f. n. no. 118, the sentence quoted from the Useful Tabels by Princeps.

Note—B. C. 250=A. M. 277. Two things, however, deserve notice here. (1) "About B. C. 250," may mean five or ten years earlier, or later than 250 B.C. (2) Mr. Princeps has taken it for granted that the number 250 represents the Christian Era; but the number is given by Pandit Tāranāth of Tibet, and it remains to be seen what era he meant by it. If he has written "250 years after the death of Buddha," even then arise two questions out of it:—(a) Ordinarily "Buddha" means the founder of Buddhism, but as we have shown above, the kings of Nepāl and Tibet were of the Lichchhavī origin, and these kings were Jains. Hence "250" might mean 250 years after the Nirvāṇ of their religious prophet, Mahāvīr. Mr. Princeps has not made this clear. (b) Just as the meaning of the word "Buddha" is not definitely fixed, so also "Nirvāṇ" has more than one interpretations to its credit.

Thus considering the doubts raised above "about 250" might mean 25 to 30 before or after that time.

I suggest its interpretation on the same line see f. n. no. 131 on pp. 254) which I suggested about no. "256"—followed by Viyutha=departed soul—in the Sahasrām rock-edict. ("Life of Priyadarśin" shortly to be published by me) Thus 250 means "250 years after the Nirvāṇ of Paramātmā."

Let us test the theory given above. The Sahasrām number, I have fixed as referring to the Mahāvīr Era, because its author was Priyadarśin, a staunch Jain. Now if we take 250 as representing the M. E., it would be 277 B. C. It is stated in his rock-edicts that he visited Nepāl for the first time during the 14th year of his rule, i. e, in 276 B. C., (i. e. about 277 B. C. or, two or three months after that). Such differences are often due to converting one era into another. Thus 250 A. M.=277 B. C. These dates are thus supported by Sahasrām rock-edict, and by Pandit Tāranāth.

(The Rajaput names generally end in "Sinha". Do they do so to show their origin from the Lichchhavī clan ? or do they do so to show their devotion to Mahāvīr, whose sign is the "Lion" ?.

The first king of Khoṭān is believed to have been of the Lichchhavī clan by the people. (F. n, no. 118 above; R. W. W. vol. II, pp. 13). It is possible that he must have been a member of the royal family of Priyadarśin; the Mauryas themselves were of the Lichchhavī origin. (Pp. 148). They call themselves "Great Lion or the Noble Lion".

(121) Read the ending portion of this chapter.

Samarkand, Murva, near which was situated the Chulikā[122] of the mount Meru. Thus having subdued all the territory to the south of Meru he returned towards Avanti. ( B. C. 274=A. M. 253 ). The Chinese emperor at this time was Hu-Wang[123]. Fear took hold of him that the powerful Indian emperor might invade his country and he got the famous Chinese wall built first of wood. The wall does not surround the whole of China, but only that portion of it through which entry might be effected into China through Tibeṭ or Khoṭan. Priyadarśin, however had no intention to invade it and he returned, having subdued Yona and Kaśmir on his way and having appointed governors over them[124] (B. C. 272=A. M. 254 ).

By this time he had conquered countries in all the direction and thus finished his conquest tour[125]. He had no more territorial ambitions[126]. He busied himself with religious activities, especially of converting the people of conquered territories to Jainism.

**The rule of Devpāl in Nepāl**

In the meanwhile Aśoka died in 270 B. C.=256 A. M. Shortly after that, Samprati had to go to Nepāl with his daughter Chārumatī. There was possibly no political significance behind his visit to Nepāl. He may have gone there for any of the following four reasons:—(1) There might have arisen a rebellion in Nepāl, Khoṭān or Tibeṭ. (2) He might have intended to invade China by this route. (3) He might have gone to intentify

(122) It is possible that the Āryans of Jambudvīpa migrated everywhere from this place. The European scholars believe that Mount Caucasus is the place of the origin of the Āryans.

(123) F. n. no. 120, quotation from Smith, Aśoka, pp. 81.

(124) F. n. no. 87 above.

(125) The Bhilsā Topes (Appendix fig. 7):—"Vajra, thunderbolt, is a symbol of Universal domination usually placed in the hand of a king, very common at Sāñchī.

Sāñchī=Avanti : The seat of the capital of Samprati was in this region. Hence the details given above refer to him.

(126) F. n. no. 40 in the preceding chapter and the matter connected with it in the text proper.

religious activities and spread of Jainism. (4) As some European scholars believe, he might have gone there to bury or deposit the bones of Aśoka near the stūpa of Lumbini–Ru–Mindiāi—, because it was the birth–place of Buddha.

As regards the last reason, we shall later on prove that the stūpa is a Jaina one and hence that reason cannot be advanced. Reason No. 3 is equally improbable, because missionary activities do not necessarily require the presence of the king. As regards No. 2, Priyadarśin had no intention to invade China. So reason No. 1 seems to be the most probable of all. It may also be that Devpāl may have fallen seriously ill, and Priyadarśin may have paid a visit to him[126] with his daughter Chārumatī. Devpāl may not have recovered from his illness; Chārumatī, then a widow, may have entered Jaina holy orders; and hence Samprati may have returned alone to India[127]. His visit may also have been for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion which Devpāl could not have brought under control. Again Devpāl had been appointed governor of Nepāl during the 14th year of Priyadarśin's rule[128] and so he must have taken his daughter with him on his next visit six years later. He may have gone with a view to escorting the princess and seeing his son–in–law after an interval of six years. Devpāl and Chārumatī, after the departure of Priyadarśin, may have led a happy married life for several years, during which they may have got, temples, vihāras and Upāśrays built. Then Devpāl may have died in about 270 B. C.[129] and then Charumatī became a Jaina nun.

(126) Generally an emperor of the catagory of Priyadarśin does not run off to visit a relative, who is ill and who is in a foreign country. Priyadarśin, however, may have gone there because of his love for Chārumatī and Devpāl.

(127) F. n. no. 63.

(128) The Nigliv and Lumbini Stūpas assure us that Priyadarśin visited the country for the first time during the 14th year of his rule. "14th" means after the completion of the 13th and so 20th means after the completion of the 19th.

(129) None of the two reasons stated here is correct. For particulars read the next chapter and the matter at the end of the vol.

While fixing the dates of the reign of Priyadarśin we have already given the names of contemporary foreign kings[130]. We have also given the chronological list of the Ceylonese kings in f. n. no. 71. p. 238. Again, Śi–Hu–Wang was the emperor of China at this time. Thus eight contemporary kings have already been mentioned.

Contemporary kings

The reign of Priyadarśin, as we have already seen, lasted from B. C. 290 to 236. ( A. M. 237 to 291). His conquest tour through the western countries lasted from third to the sixth years of his reign. (B. C. 287 to 284). All the names are mentioned in the rock–edict erected during the 26th year of his reign, in about 264 B. C. So during these twenty–six years, these five Yavana kings must have lived. Scholars have given their names and their dates; but they require some correction, as suggested by me in f. n. no. 36 above.

King Tissā of Ceylon and his successor Uttiya have been fixed up as contemporaries of Priyadarśin. F. N. of p. 238 will show what changes need be instituted in this.

Let us now turn to Śī–Hu–Wang, the Chinese emperor. His dates have been fixed up by scholars on the authority of Buddhist books, especially connecting them with the Nirvāṇ and Parinirvāṇ of Buddha. We know that the Buddhists themselves are not unanimous about the dates of Nirvāṇ and Parinirvāṇ, thus admitting inaccuracy of the dates of other events[131]. Mr. Smith says:— "The Chinese emperor reigned from B. C. 246 to 210 (36 years), becoming universal emperor in 221, who built the great wall. The chronology certainly is approximately correct[132], because Aśoka's reign * extended from B. C. 273 to 232".

Let us fix up these dates with the dates of Aśoka, as already

(130) Rock–edict no. 13 and f. n. no. 36 above.

(131) F. n. no. 132 below; Smith, Aśoka, Pp. 81; f. n. no. 87 above; cf. details given in the next chapter, for the reasons of erecting this wall.

(132) This word proves that the dates of the Chinese emperor and of Aśoka are only provisional.

* These are the views of the scholars at present.

fixed by us. Aśoka ruled from 330 B. C. to 289 B. C. (41 years). The Chinese emperor, as stated above, came to the throne 27 years after (B. C. 273–246=27), the accession of Aśoka. This means according to our calculations, that he came to the throne in 330–27=303 B. C. He ruled for 36 years, i. e. his reign ended in 303–36=267 B. C. He assumed the title of "the emperor" during the 25th year of his rule, i. e. in 278 B. C. Now Priyadarśin has visited Nepāl for the first time during the 14th year of his own rule, i. e. in 276 B. C.[133] and for the second time six years later in B. C. 270. He had conquered Khoṭān and Tibet during his first visit. Thus, there was an interval of only one and a half to two years between the assumption of the title "emperor" by the Chinese king and the conquest of Nepāl and Khotān by Priyadarśin. It is not known whether the Chinese emperor got the wall built after assuming "emperorship" or before that. If he got it built after his assumption of the title, we may come to the conclusion that he did so because he was afraid of the invasion of Priyadarśin over China. If he got it built before the assumption of the title, the wall was presumably built of wood. Again there existed trade relations between the two countries long since and the Chinese must have heard reports of the wealth and prowess of the Magadha empire, right from the time of Śrenik, from their merchants and travellers. Hence the Chinese emperor must have heard of the wooden wall around Pāṭliputra and might have imitated it. Later on he must have found out, that a wooden wall afforded no protection against a powerful enemy like Priyadarśin, who subdued Khoṭān and Tibet within no time. Hence, he seems to have begun to get a stone wall built in place of the wooden. The wall was built at an extraordinary pace; nearly four hundred thousand workers were employed for it; any worker, who was found slackening in his duty, was severely punished, by chopping off the limbs of his body. This gives us an idea as to the fear of the Chinese emperor for the Indian emperor. When he saw that Priyadarśin, after his conquest of Khotān, advanced towards north and then returned to his capital via Kāśmir, he thought it wise to get the

(133) F. n. no. 120 above; f. n. no. 128 above; compare them.

wall completely built during his absence. Six years later, as we have already seen, Priyadarśin had to pay another visit to Nepāl. By that time the wall was complete nearly 12 months ago. Priyadarśin did not care very much either for China or for its wall[134], though he would have directed his attention towards that, had he had any time to do so. In the meanwhile, news of the serious illness of Aśoka reached him and he turned his steps quickly towards the seat of the capital, leaving the Chinese emperor to believe that Priyadarśin dropped the idea of invading China because of the formidable wall, which he had got built with such foresight.

Five points arise from the details given above.

**Details about a thing or two**

(1) Priyadarśin visited Nepāl twice; first, during the 14th year of his rule, and second during the 20th. During his first visit, he went alone, or probably with Devpāl, but certainly not with Chārumatī; during his second visit he took Chārumatī with him.

(2) When he visited Nepāl for the first time, he did not invade China; but he conquered Khoṭān and returned to India via Kāśmir.

(3) He did not care much either for China or for its wall. He might have directed his attention to it, had he had any time.

(4) The Chinese wall took over three years to be built.

(5) Priyadarśin took a certain vow, when he saw the soldiers being ruthlessly slaughtered in his battle against the Āndhra king.

Points Nos. 1, 4 and 5 have already been mentioned in well-known history books and have been proved on the authority of rock-edicts. Nos. 2 and 3 have not received so much notice. The reader will see, however, that they are closely connected with the former three and that they throw much light on the life of Priyadarśin.

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(134) For the real reason, read the next chapter.

These invasions were not made for conquering more territory, but for the propagation of his religion. So they were in confirmity with his vow. Read the next chapter.

His first visit to Nepāl was during the 14th year of his rule. He ascended the throne in A. M. 237=B. C. 290. Thus the date of his first visit would be A. M. 251 or the beginning of B. C. 276. It is probable that he took nearly a year in subduing Nepāl and then he returned to India. His next visit was during the 20eth year of his rule. Thus though there seems apparently an interval of six years between his two visits, yet, the correct interval was only four to five years. During this interval the Chinese wall was built. When Priyadarśin paid his second visit to Nepāl, the wall had already been completed six to twelve months ago. Thus the wall took nearly three years and a half to be built. The Chinese emperor must have apprehended the danger of invasion during his first visit; but when he saw the Indian emperor marching towards Khotān and central Asia, he planned to get the wall built as a precautionary measure. Thus the dates can be properly settled.

Samprati had marched into Tāskand and Samarkand via Khotān. Many religious relics are found in central Asia, which resemble closely the relics in mounts Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri in Orissa, which were certainly inscribed by the emperors of Magadh. This proves that the religion and culture of the Magadh emperors had spread into these countries also. Of all the emperors of Magadh, only Priyadarśin, invaded and subdued these regions. That Priyadarśin conquered these countries is supported by Jaina books and by that famous Tibetan writer, Paṇdit Tārānāth, who affirms his conquests of Khoṭan and Tibet. Books on Indian history may not contain any allusion to this, due to their imperfect information.

His inattention to China during his first visit to Nepāl can also be explained. It was certainly easy for him to invade China at that time, because there was only a wooden wall. However, he directed his efforts towards half-barren territories like Tāskand and others and avoided a rich and civilized country like China, because the former places had a religious significance for him. As a staunch follower of Jainism, he was sure to go to places which had any religious importance attached to them. According to Jainism, Mount Meru is one of the most sacred places of the Jains and which, according to my calculations explained above, was situated

near a town named Murva in central Asia. The caves found in these regions contain relics very similar to those found in the caves of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri. Hence he thought it important to visit that region, even at the cost of losing the opportunity of invading China. Then he returned to India via Kāśmir after having conquered it, and having appointed his son Jālauk as its governor. This is supported by the most authoritative treatise on the history of Kāśmir namely, Rājtaraṅgiṇi (Appendix about Jālauk at the end of the book), and also by the coins. Hence we may consider this as a settled fact.

He did not take his daughter Chārumatī with him during his first visit to Nepāl, because both he and Devpāl were unacquainted with the conditions prevailing there. Moreover, they had got to subdue Nepāl, and thus they did not think it safe to take Chārumatī with them. During the interval of six years, Devpāl must have brought the situation under control and founded the new seat of capital, namely Devpaṭṭaṇ. The opening ceremony of the new capital was performed by Samprati, on his second visit to the country, when he took with him princess Chārumatī, because the presence of the queen was necessary in performing the opening ceremony of the city, and because she had been away for six years after her marriage with Devpāl.

On his departure from Nepāl, he returned alone to his capital. This was either because Chārumatī had already become a Jaina nun due to the decease of Devpāl, at the time of his return, or more probably because Chārumatī was to stay with her husband thence-forward. She was now the queen of Nepāl and hence her presence was needed there, to assist her husband in the administration and in religious activities like the building of vihāras, upāśrayas and temples. Devpāl and Chārumatī must have ruled over Nepāl for a pretty long time, and hence Priyadarśin's second visit to Nepāl cannot be attributed to the rise of a rebellion there, but to the opening ceremony of the new capital or some such other thing. Chārumatī became a Jaina nun either during the life time of her husband or after his death.

Aśoka died in 270-1 B. C. (vide his account). Priyadarśin

got the rock-edicts erected with a certain point of view ( next chapter ). The Sahasrām rock-edict contains the number similar[135] to 270-1 B. C.=256 A. M. Thus these things agree with one another. The rock-edicts state that he visited and returned from Nepāl during the 20th year of his reign, in 270 B. C. He returned either having heard of the serious illness of Aśoka or of his death, dearly as he loved his grand father It is more probable that Aśoka was already dead by this time, because a rock-edict in Nepāl states that Priyadarśin visited the country to deposit the remains of the bones of his grand father

One thing now remains to be considered. During the 9th year of his rule, while fighting a battle against the Āndhra king, he took a certain vow about battles. On the other hand, he conquered Nepāl and Khotān during the 14th year of his rule. He fought nearly five to six battles after he took his vow. The Dhauli-Jagauḍā edict, which contains the mention of this vow, must have been, therefore, misinterpreted by the scholars. The misinterpretation may be due to wrongly deciphering the script or due to certain words having some religious meaning, which the scholars have failed to grasp. The second reason is more probable of the two[136]. Details about this are given in " The Life of Priyadarśin" shortly to be published by me.

The reader will now be convinced that Priyadarśin was a staunch Jain. He had fought many victorious battles and he had also taken several religious vows. This will, I hope, remove the erroneous conception, that becoming a Jain is synonymous with becoming a coward, afraid of war and bloodshed and that those who fight battles cannot be called Jains. The Jaina principle of non-violence has a much wider and comprehensive sense. History proves this fact irrefutably.

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(135) Vide f. n. no. 131 on pp. 254.

(136) F. n. no. 134 above.



# Chapter III

## Priyadarśin (contd.)

Synopsis:—*His coming to know details about his former birth and their influence on his present life—Account of the years that preceded his conquet tour—His devotion to his religion and his religious tour—His conquest tour for the second time and his successful completion of it; his observance of all the religious vows prescribed for a Śrāvak; his religious tolerance inspite of his devotedness to his own faith—His later life much influenced by religion—Principal tenets of his faith and his influence over his subjects—Certain particular doctrines of his faith—His efforts to ameliorate the condition of his subjects—His religious, social, commercial and political reforms.*

One of the great disadvantages of western education is that it destroys spiritual tendencies in a man and makes him materialistic in his outlook. Those who have received this education seldom have anything to do with the theory of birth and re-birth and of Karma. Those of them, however, who have their own culture deeply ingrained in them, have full faith in these theories, inspite of their receiving it. The theories of birth and rebirth and of Karma have been irrefutably proved by Jainism; and can be well demonstrated in the account of Priyadarśin.

**His previous birth and its influence on his life**

Many authoritative Jaina books[1] including the Pariśiṣṭa-parva contain the account of the previous birth of Priyadarśin and its effect over his life. It is as follows[2].

As stated in his rock-edicts, nearly two and a half years[3] after his accession to the throne, once he was sitting in the balcony of his royal place. On the way below, there proceeded forward a Jaina procession[4] having some monks in the front. When the king saw this sight, his mind became restive and he fainted. The servants immediately ran to him and tended him. When he regained consciousness, he began to think that he had seen the sight somewhere. On trying to remember, it dawned upon him that he had seen the sight in his previous birth and that the monks leading the procession were his preceptors at that time[5].

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(1) Pariśiṣṭha parva; Bharat. Bāhu. Vṛtti, for Life of Samprati; Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṅgrah, pp. 83 to 88. K. S. S. Com. pp. 127.

(2) Cf. vol. I. pp. 268, f. n. no. 72.

Recently (1935), newspapers published the report of inquiring a committee of the strange case of an eight-year-old girl in Delhi having remembered details about her previous birth. This will convince the reader that the theory of birth and re-birth is based on truth.

(3) His coronation in A. M. 237=B. C. 290-289, hence the time for this occurence is A. M. 240=B. C. 287.

(4) For the sight of such Rath-yātrā procession see Prasenjit's plate in "Bhārhut Stūpa" by General Cunningham. Pp. 202, the right pillar, inside.

(5) Priyadarśin completed his 16th and entered into his 17th year at this time, in B. C. 287 (f. n. no. 3 above). So he had become a Jaina monk in 287+16=303 B. C.=224 A. M. in his previous birth.

He at once approached them on foot and asked the monks whether they recognized him. The monks promptly replied that every one knew that he was the mighty emperor Priyadarśin. The king again asked them whether they could recognize him in any other connection. The monks contemplated a while and then told him that he was their disciple for three days in the previous birth and that he had died at the end of three days[6]. Priyadarśin was then convinced of his remembrance of his previous birth, and requested the monks to tell him all the details about it. The chief monk then said:—"In your previous[7] birth, you were a mendicant in Kauśāmbī. There prevailed a famine there and so, once you could not get anything to eat, though you begged from door to door. While standing disappointed at a place at mid-day, you saw some of my disciples visiting the houses of the Jaina laity for our food[8]. When they stood before a particular house the lady of the house, with much importunity, gave[9] them sweet balls. The disciples uttered benediction[10] and began to go their way. The same lady had, before a little while, refused to give you even a crust of bread. This created in you a sort of queer feeling of respect for those disciples and you followed them. When you accosted them with a request to give you sweet balls, they replied that they could not give you anything without the permission of their preceptor, and they advised you to accompany them to their preceptor; you did so[11] and having approached the

(6) Bh. Bā. Vṛ. Trans. pp. 176 and further; K. S. S. pp. 12.

(7) Priyadarśin was 17 years old at this time. Adding 9 months of the period of pregnancy, we can calculate that the famine prevailed in Kauśāmbī 18 years before this time. B. C. 287 (f. n. no. 3).—18=B. C. 305 or A. M. 222. The year in which Priyadarśin was born see f. n. 5 above, was also the year in which famine was prevalent in Kauśāmbī.

(8) "Gauchari" is the technical word for it. It means, "collecting one's food in the manner of a cow, who feeds herself by grazing here and there."

(9) The Jaina technical word is "Vahorāvavu".

(10) The Jaina technical word is "Dharma-lābh," i. e. may you be more and more interested in religion.

(11) The place where Jaina monks reside during their stay in a city or a village; it is similar to a "Maṭha" or a "Vihār" of the Buddhists.

chief monk, requesting him to give you sweet-balls. The monk, however, told you that they could give the sweet-ball to those only, who were Jaina monks like him. So with a view to having a share in those appetizing sweet-balls, you accepted Jainism as your faith and became a Jaina monk. You were given the sweet-balls, with which you stuffed your stomach to such an extent that you contracted dysentery. Being newly ordinated, many nuns and the Jaina laity flocked to pay their respects to you[12] and to ask for your health. When you saw that the very ladies who had driven you out of their doors, only a little while ago, knelt humbly down before you, your respect and admiration for ordination was consolidated. The Jaina laity-rich as well as poor,-waited upon you day and night and tended you during your illness in the most delicate manner, thus convincing of the holiness of the kind of life you had selected for you. At the end of three days you died, fully approving (doing Nirzāmaṇā[13]) of the religious life accepted by you; and from thence you were born here in the royal family[14]". When Priyadarśin heard this, he also remembered the whole thing, bowed down to the monk and became an "Upāsaka[15]-entrant" under the chief monk in[16] A. M. 238-9=B. C. 288-7. This will convince the reader of the truth of theory of birth and re-birth. It will also show what position even a medicant was able to obtain by attaining knowledge in the right perspective.—Bohi Lābh as

(12) It is a Jaina tenet that the monk, who has been ordinated earlier than the others, is to be respected and saluted by the latter, irrespective of age; the same is the case with nuns. But all the nuns are to pay their respects to a monk, who has been ordinated even a day ago; thus showing the superiority of males over females (K. S. S. pp. 2).

(13) Rock-edict no. 4; Bh. Bā. Vṛ. Trans. pp. 177. This is a peculiarly Jaina term, and it has no concern with Buddhism.

(14) Baroda Library, Samprati Kathā manuscript, pp. 84:—"The poor man's soul entered the fœtus of Kuṇāl's religious-minded wife."

(15) One who is initiated into Jainism, who has a desire to observe the holy vows, but who has not yet begun to do so. He took these vows nearly two years and a half later (Read further). The word itself means, "devotion".

(16) Pariśiṣṭha parva, edi. by Jacobi, pp. 68; S. B. I. vol 22; Jaina Dharma Prakāśa Sabhā, Trans. Sarga 11, pp. 120, Rock-edict no. 3.

it is called in Jainism. It is no wonder that Priyadarśin, who had come to his present position by attaining " Bohi-lābh" (Bohī-Bij[17]; see the Bābhrā-Vairāṭ rock-edict) got numerous rock and pillar-edicts erected to commemorate his achievements through the power of such a faith, with a view to show his subjects as well as the posterity, the chastest and the most beneficial faith. Taken in this light, the interpretations of many of these edicts will be not only easy but correct.

**How he instituted religious doctrines in his political administration and his conquest tour**

He then[18] started on his conquest-tour and having subdued all the territory upto Asia Minor and Egypt[19], within two years, and a half returned to India in B. C. 285=A. M. 241. The monk happened to reside at this time also in Avanti and Priyadarśin thus had another opportunity to pay his respects to the Ratha-yātra-procession. He took certain vows[20] and rose to the category of a Śrāvak (see rock-edicts). Desiring to visit the Jaina holy places with the Saṅgh (a group of Pilgrims), he visited the holy mounts Śatruñjay and Girnār[21] and returned after a year, (A. M. 242=B. C. 285; Rock-edict No. 8). Then he started on a conquest-tour to the south (A. M. 243) and subdued all the territory within nearly 2½ years, thus returning to Avanti in A. M. 244=B. C. 283. In

(17) Bodhī-lābh=the thing which gives knowledge in its right perspective. Bodhī-bīj=to sow the seed of attaining the fruit in the form of Bohī-lābh. They are sometimes used as synonyms.

(18) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṅgrah, pp. 83 to 86 (For details).

(19) Trans. by G. V. S. of "The Short History of the World" by H. G. Wells, pp. 80:—"His missionaries had gone to Kāśmīr, Persia, Ceylon and Alexandria." They could have gone there only, if these countries were conquered by him (Pp. 273-5 with their foot-notes).

(20) Cf. pp. 291, f. n. no. 15 about "Upāsak".

(21) Bh. Bā. Vṛ. Trans. pp. 168:—These two names are given here separately. They, however, represent the same mount. At that time the ascent began near modern Junāgaḍh. They were two peaks of the same mount (like Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri). The two peaks separated from each other after nearly 200 years, in B. C. 57, when Pālitāṇā was founded by the monk named Pādaliptasūri, who fixed the ascent from there (Vol. 3 and 4).

the meanwhile, the sixth Āndhra king died and was succeeded by his independent-minded son, who rose in a rebellion against the paramountcy of Priyadarśin, who marched against him and defeated him, after fighting against him for nearly nine months. (A. M. 246=B. C. 281). When he returned to Avanti, he visited his mother, to pay his respects to her and to express his joy for his conquest of the whole of India, as well as foreign territory in the west. His mother however, turned her face away from him[22], instead of uttering words of benediction. The emperor was taken aback at this and asked her to explain him her treatment of him. She told him that he had certainly achieved a great task in conquering such a vast territory, but he had done so, at the cost of countless human lives and he was thus not only nullifying the merit of his previous birth but was piling sin upon sin in his present life, instead of utilizing it for saving and uplifting his soul. Her words struck him and the king, respectfully saluting her, promised her that he would henceforth try to atone for his previous sins. After that he approached his preceptor and with his permission, took the eight vows of a Śrāvak[23] (see the rock-edict); (A. M. 246 at the end of it) He thus attained "Bohi-lābh" stage (Rock-edict No. 8). Shortly after this, died the elder brother of his preceptor[24].

Henceforth he directed his attention solely to putting into practice the vows taken by him. He issued orders for the building of Jaina temples. According to Jaina books, he had decided to rinse his mouth in the morning, only after hearing the news of a new temple having been built. Over and above building new temples, he got all the old and existing temples repaired and set up into all

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(22) Pariśiṣṭha parva, Trans. Bh. Bā. Vṛ. Trans. "Mahān Samprati", pp. 229.

(23) A Śrāvak has to observe 11 vows; but the last three are such that a king would find it nearly impossible to put them into practice. So I think that he must have taken eight vows.

(24) The name of his preceptor was Ārya Suhasti The name of his elder brother, who had also become a Jaina monk, was Mahāgiri. He died on the mount, named Gajendrapad in Avanti. (Map no. I, details about Daśārṇa.)

of them the idols made of stone, gold, silver[25], brass and of a mixture of five metals[26] and performed their "Añjanaśalākā" ceremony i. e. declared them fit for worship. Within three years and a half he got one hundred and twenty-five thousand new temples built, 36 thousand repaired, twelve and a half million idols[27] consecrated and 95 thousand metal idols prepared[28]. Having accepted "Nakarā"[29] from certain places and at some places having not taken even "Nakarā", he consecrated idols in all the Jaina temples. European scholars have failed to understand the meaning of "Nakarā" and have consequently ridiculously interpreted the rock-edicts. Two such instances of the many are given here[30]:—(1) Samprati, having accepted the "Nakarā"[31], gave gold idols at

(25) M. S. I. pp. 148:—It is stated in Patañjali Mahābhāṣya:—"Mauryair hiraṇyārthibhi rachyāh prakalpitāh bhavettāsu na syāt". Patañjali lived only 25 years after this time and hence his statement must be taken as authoritative. It means, "The Mauryas, fond of wealth, got many gold idols made for daily worship." J. R A. S. 1877, vol. IX, pp. 207 and further.

(26) A man who consecrates an idol, generally gets his name inscribed on it at the foot. But Priyadarśin has avoided this practice; so humble he was. (J. S. L. S. pp. 86).

Due to this reason, his real name, he has never got inscribed in his rock-edicts.

(Cf. f. n. nos. 40 and 41).

(27) F. n. nos. 28 and 32 below.

(28) J. S. L. S. pp. 86, f. n. no. 127, Kalpasūtra-vṛtti.—"Samprati Nāmābhūt. Sa cha jātamātra eva pitāmahadattarājye rathayātrā pravṛtta Śrī-āryasuhastidarśanājjātajātismṛtih sapādalakṣajinālaya—sapādakoṭī navīnabimba—ṣattrimsat jīrṇoddhāra pañchanavatisahasra-pittalmayapratimā-neka śatasahasrasatraśālādibhirvibhūṣitam trikhaṇḍāmapi mahīmakarot. (Kalpasūtra edi. by Vinayavijayaji, and Com. pp. 127). For the interpretation of this extract from the rock-edict, read further.

(29) F. n. no. 31.

(30) There are many instances of the same kind. They need not be, however, mentioned here. For details, the reader is referred to the "Life of Samprati" shortly to be published by me.

(31) All persons devoted to religion, whether rich or poor, have the desire to perform religious deeds. The rich get many opportunities for this. What about the poor? One custom among the Jaina laity is, that for a particular

certain places. These scholars have interpreted that the Maurya kings sold the gold idols of their gods, because they were badly in need of money[32]. (2) He had got countless Jaina temples built and idols consecrated into them. He has described this in his minor-rock-edict No. I. Different scholars have interpreted this in different ways[33]. They have, however, frankly acknowledged that they are not quite sure of the correctness of their interpretation. The real interpretation is, that hitherto many people in Jambudvīp worshipped false idols, performed sacrifices and superstitiously believed in various gods and goddesses and were afraid of them. These people, thanks to the untiring and zealous work of the missionaries, now

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religious ceremony the highest bidder get the chance. There is another custom also, specially provided for the middle class and the poor ranks of the society. A fixed sum is settled for a particular ceremony and whoever pays the sum is entitled to perform it. The sum thus charged is called "Nakarā". Any person who wanted to consecrate an idol into a temple, could get it from Priyadarśin by paying this fixed minimum, and many times, only nominal amount. This does not mean that the idol is sold to him. The word "Nakarā" (No=not, Kara=tax), etymologically means, a payment made not as a tax, but as a voluntary contribution. It also means "Act according to the prescribed rules without making any changes in them." (Nā=not, Karo=do).

(32) J. R. A. S. 1876, vol. 9, pp. 207 and further.—Professors Weber, Goldstukar, Bhāndārakar and others say that Priyadarśin got many idols carved. They have, however, described the idols as, "Gods of the Mauryas, saleable images, idols etc." Mr. Thomas says:—"The multitudinous images of the Mauryas, which were so easily produced in the absolute repetitive identity and so largely distributed as part and parcel of the creed itself". (Cf. 28 above).

(33) Rama. A. Pref. pp. 3:—"He announced that the gods and the human divinities worshipped in Asia (Jambudvīp) were false".

C. H. I. pp. 505:—"The people in Jambudvīp, who had remained un-associated with the gods, became associated with the gods".

R. K. M. pp 111, the sentence quoted above is interpreted in two ways — (1) Within this interval in Jambudvīpa men who were "unmingled with gods" (i. e. had no gods or no religion) came to be mingled with gods i. e. became religious or worshippers of gods". (2) Within this interval in Jambudvīpa, men whose gods were disunited, had become men whose gods were united, in other words, the strife of gods and their worshippers (i. e. of the jarring sects) had largely ceased in the country".

have come to know the true religion and have begun to worship the true god.

Most people are hitherto ignorant of these facts contained in the Jaina books. Others, who are either narrow-minded or jealous, dub them as myths. I hope that the rock-edicts of Priyadarśin will change their ideas and will make them think better of Jaina books. He completed this gigantic task in about 249-250 A. M.= B. C. 277. He was not satisfied merely with piling temples upon temples and idols upon idols but he also looked to the general welfare of his people. At numerous places he got alms-houses[35], public kitchens , hospitals, paddocks for animals unfit for work, and travellers' houses as well as caravansaries built. Trees were planted on both the sides of the roads, at regular distances along which were also dug tanks and wells[37]. New roads were built and old ones were repaired.

Places and institutions, like hunting-houses, slaughter-houses, castration and fight of animals, which encouraged the slaying of beasts, were summarily closed. Conferences were convened[38] and gatherings were made to divert the attention of the people from evil ways (See the rock-edict). He, in short, spared no pains to do everything in his power for the amelioration of his subjects.

All these activities took him nearly three years to be started and to be completed (see the rock-edict), in about A. M. 250, the 14th year after his coronation. Then the idea came into his mind to extend the benefit of his activities through the whole

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(34) F. n. no. 33 above.

(35) He was a poor man himself in his previous birth. Hence he knew the hardships of the poor. (Pillar-edict no. 7. He repeatedly exhorted his kith and kin to give as much to the deserving as they could). Cf. 36 below.

(36) "Mahān Samprati", pp. 229. He established dining-halls everywhere, because he was well-aware of the hardships of the poor and disabled". Thus the fact that Jains supported and conducted such charitable institutions in very ancient times is proved on the evidence of the rock-edicts.

(37) Pillar-edicts nos. 5 and 7.

(38) As stated in Hāthigumfā rock-edict, Khārvel had also begun such activities (Read further the chapter).

Jambudvipa, the people of which were Jains in the beginning. So he decided to bring under his power the region about the Himālayas[39] and the territory upto Tāskand, Samarkand and Murva in central Asia[40]; which was situated at the Chulikā of Mt. Meru. He started on his expedition[41] and first conquered Nepāl. Having appointed Devpāl to look after it, he advanced towards Khoṭān and Tibeṭ. Having conquered them he appointed his son Kusthan—the real name is not known; this name is stated in the book of Pandit Tārānāth, the Tibetian scholar—as the governor. ( The Chinese emperor, afraid of an invasion, must have begun the Chinese wall at this time, B C 276-7=A. M. 251[42]. Priyadarśin, who had taken the eight vows of Śrāvak, had no territorial ambitions. He, therefore, marched towards Tāskand, Samarkand and Murwa, in order to visit the Chulikā of Mt. Meru. He returned to India, passing through Bactriā of the yons and through Kāśmir[43]. He subdued both these countries also. This

(39) It will be clear from this that he did not go to Nepāl, Khoṭān and Tibeṭ with a view to territorial expansion, but to spread his faith in these countries. He would have, otherwise, invaded China also. (Pp. 275 to 278 and f. n. connected with them).

(40) We know why he invaded these countries. It was with the noble intention of spreading the Jaina gospel (The reader will see why he has not got his real name inscribed in any of his edicts). He had no territorial ambitions in China. (F. n. nos. 39 and 26 above).

(41) He visited the neighbourhoods of Nigliv and Rumindiāi for the same purpose.

(42) Pp. 278 f. n. no. 120; R. I. S. Aśoka, pp 81; J. B. B. R. S. Vol. 26. (1921-23) pp. 265-273; the date stated therein is B. C. 217; i. e. the assumption of "emperorship" was in B. C. 221. (Pp. 282 above and f. n. no. 132). The wall was built, four years later in 217 B. C. According to our calculations the date of the assumption of the title of emperorship is B. C. 278 and the date of the wall is 274 B. C.

The number of the workers (seven hundred thousand people finished in three years) employed in building this gigantic wall, gives us an idea of the prowess of Priyadarśin. (Pp. 282-3 above).

(43) His intention was to spread his faith in these countries. This theory is supported by the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi and by Mr. Thomas. (Pp. 271 & seq.; appendix on Dharmāśoka and on Jālauka).

expedition took him nearly three years (A. M. 254=B. C. 270). Having returned to Avanti, he sent missionaries to these newly conquered regions to spread the Jaina gospel there. (Thus we see that every single activity of his, was completed at the end of three years,—an auspicious number in his case[44]. It appears that he appointed missionaries at a place for three years only and then transferred them to other places). (Rock-edict No. 3). The next three years he spent in intense religious activities, A. M. 254 to 257=B. C. 273 to 270. His grandfather Aśoka died in 270 B. C.[45].

His social reforms were manifold and far-sighted. The religious preachers enjoyed certain powers and they used this power for the redress of the hardships of the people. The officers of the state dared not harrass the people in any way. The emperor personally heard all the complaints against them and dealt strictly with the defaulters[46]. His reign was the unique in all respects and there was nothing short of a millenium to his people.

Devoted, as he was to his own faith and eager, as he was to spread it everywhere, his attitude towards other faiths was tolerant. He never persecuted any of his subjects who refused to be converted to his faith. A scholar says:—[47] "Religious as he was, he was not a bigot like Aśoka or Siddharāj. He never wielded the sword at people, who followed faith other than his own. His way of converting people to Jainism was that of peaceful persuasion." The rock-edicts[48] also support this. It is stated there:—"Pākhaṇḍis[49] i. e. people following other faiths, were to

(44) I. A. vol. 37, pp. 342; rock-edict no. 5 and 13.

(45) After 256 years, i. e. in 257 (see the rock-edict of Sahasrām).

(46) See the rock-edict concerning it.

(47) Paṇḍit Jinvijayaji, the professor of Archeology in the Śāntiniketan of Sir Ravindranāth Tāgore, in his Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Sangrah, pp. 86.

(48) Cf. his policy with his heir-apparent Vṛṣabhasen and his religious activities.

(49) The word must have meant, "those belonging to a non-Jaina faith." Jainism itself was divided into two sects at this time. As long as Ārya Mahāgiri, the elder brother of Ārya Suhastin was alive, the Digambara monks

be found in his territory. He never forced them to give up their faith. He, on the contrary, allowed them to preach their doctrines peacefully to the people. But if they used coercion, they were punished for that. He never hesitated to punish the guilty, kind-hearted though he was. He treated his vassal kings in the same way[50]. Once he called them all at Avanti and told them that he would be more pleased by their efforts to spread Jainism in their respective countries than by any other kind of service of theirs[51],

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could come within his fold without making any change in their rites and rituals. But Ārya Suhastin was of the opinion that these rules must be changed with the changed conditions of the times; and those monks who wanted to move about, in populated areas must cover their bodies with white pieces of cloth. This rule was first initiated by Mahāvīr. Suhastin's sect was thus called Śvetāmbar. Samprati was a follower of this sect. So this word may have also meant "those belonging to any sect other than the Śvetāmbar sect." Again the Śvetāmbar sect itself had no unity in it, and its followers were divided into numerous sub-sects, (Pari. Parva; S. B. East. pp. 22) though these sub-sects had not come into prominence as long as Suhastin was alive. The word may have thus meant any of these sub-sects also. The followers of Mahāgiri had relaxed in the observance of their rules after his death. The followers of Suhastin are taken as a separate class, though there was little difference between the doctrines of the two. (Details will be given in the life of Priyadarśin). According to the opinion of some scholars this was the beginning of the division of the Jaina community into two sects.—Śvetāmber & Digambar.

(50) R. K. M. pp. 17.—"The chief conquest is not by arms but by Dhamma". (Cf. the Civil Disobedience Movement in India to-day).

M. S. I. pp. 448.—"He believed in conquest by religion and not in conquest by arms."

Cf. f. n. no. 52 below.

(51) Bh. Bā. Vṛ. Trans. pp. 178.—"If you are my true followers, enroll yourselves as Upāsakas under the preceptors and monks."

J. S. L. Saṅgraha, pp. 86:—The author of Sampraticharitra" says:—
Mahāprabhāvānāṃ kurvaṃsta manuvrajyasaṃprati
Teṣāṃ Rajñāṃ vidhiṃ sarvaṃ·darśayitvāsgaman gṛhān II (414)·
Tatah sarvān nṛpān smāh nanah kāryaghane
Nevahmanyadhve svāminaṃ chenmāṃ II (415)
Tadbhavantoṣtra Saṃpratih
Dharmaṃ pravartayantvenam, lokadvayasukhāvahaṃ
Svadeśeṣu sarvatra prītirevam yato mama II (416)

—a glowing tribute to his zeal for and, devotion to, his faith. He was by nature against the use of force and believed in the policy and effectiveness of peaceful persuasion.[52]. So devoid of pride was he, that he never appended his real name to any activity, that is described in his rock and piillar-edicts[53], but only the name given to him by people.

He was one of the most magnanimous, kind-hearted and brave emperor that ever ruled India.

**His later life**

After the death of Aśoka during the 19th year of his reign, he was once more obliged to go to Nepāl. After his return from it, he decided to settle in his capital and to have no more travels[54]. He conducted his administration with wisely formed councils and ministries. The governors of provinces had to conduct the administration according to the statutes devised by him after sufficient forethought and had to submit reports at regular intervals. He never slackened his religious activities, personally as well as through the agency of missionaries who spread the gospel into every corner of the empire. Then the idea came into his mind that the gospel preached through the medium of speech would perhaps have only a temporary effect on the people. So he decided to perpetuate the teachings of the gospels by getting them inscribed on rock and pillar edicts. For his choice of particular places, details will be given later on. He seems to have begun

Tatastepi gatāstatra, Jinchaityānyakārayan
Kurvate taya yātrāścha rathayātrotsavodabhatāh ll (417)
Sadaivopāsate Sādhūnamārim ghoṣayanti cha
Rājānanuvṛtya tatrāpi lokoSbhūtdharmatatparah ll (418)

(52) F. n. no. 50 above.

(53) No idol or temple of Samprati, excavated at present, bears his real name. Such was his humility. F. n. no. 26 above.

(54) He always devoted more attention to religious propaganda than to political activities. He had become such a great emperor, only because he accepted the Jaina faith for the last three days of his previous life. So after this battle against the Āndhra king, he never invaded any territory with a view to expanding his empire, but for religious purposes only.

this during the 26th year[55] of his reign. (A. M. 263=B. C. 264). Over and above these edicts, he got huge stone idols carved out of his predecessors[56] (See "Prachaṇḍa Pratimā" further, at places chosen by him with a view to religious propaganda. Three years later his preceptor, Ārya Suhastin died[57] (A. M. 265-6= B. C. 261). This he felt as a great loss to him, because now he was left alone in spreading his gospel, and could not do much, singlehanded as he now became. Even during the life time of Suhastin, Jaina monks had lost unity among them and had divided them into various sub-sects, with minor differences in rites and rituals. (These sects are called "Pāṣaṇḍa" in the rock-edicts[58].) They had, however, not risen into prominence during his life-time because they were suppressed by the force of his personality. After his death these sub-sects grew in number like mush-rooms and openly stated and quarrelled over their differences. Priyadarśin did not suppress them but informed them that as long as they settled their differences by the method of peaceful persuasion, he would not interfere. Anyone trying the method of coercion or intimidation will be removed into a Upāśraya and will have to

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(55) Aśoka died during the 20th year of his rule. The next five years he spent in religious propaganda through the agency of missionaries. From 26th year of his reign onwards, he busied himself with getting rock and pillar edicts erected. A batch of missionaries stayed in a particular territory for five years and then that batch went to another province after being replaced by another batch, f. n. no. 81 below.

(56) Read the paragraph on "Gigantic idols," later on.

(57) We have not given details about him here, because they do not pertain to the subject in hand. They will be given in my "Life of Priyadarśin", to be published within a short time. According to some scholars he died in A.M. 290; the reason why I have stated A. M. 265, as the date of his death will also be given therein.

(58) On the authority of R. G. Bhāndārakar's "Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems", pp. 3. It is stated in M. S. I. pp. 272, "There existed numerous sects in India at that time." (Vaiṣnavism and Śaivism were established several centuries after Jesus Christ. So this statement is not very authoritative. F. n. no. 49 for the meaning of "Pākhaṇḍ".)

put on white clothes[59] and thus will be forced to follow the royal faith. He had issued a proclamation to this effect ( see the rock-edicts ), so that no one may have any cause to grumble afterwards. He had also devised means to keep the members of the royal family into close touch with the tenets of the faith.

Thus he spent his later years in peace, trying to spread his faith by peaceful methods. After reigning for 54 years, he died peacefully in A. M. 290-1 = B. C. 236, at the age of 68.

**The faith that he followed**

Scholars have hitherto attributed all the rock and pillar edicts to Aśoka and consequently to Buddhism. They have erred in doing so, not of course with a view to favouring a particular religion at the cost of another, but because they honestly came to that conclusion. I attribute the fault to the followers of Jainism, who kept their literature a sealed book to all interested in the study of ancient history, with the results that the scholars, unacquainted as they were with the contents of these books, arrived at certain conclusions on the authority of the books of other faiths, particularly of Buddhist books. We have already shown in chap. I of this volume, how much similar to each other Buddhism and Jainism are and how one of them was merely an off-shoot of the other. Again a historian is not expected to be able to distinguish between the minute differences of such closely resembling faiths. The result was that they interpreted these rock and pillar edicts, first assuming that they were all connected with Buddhism; and they frankly expressed their doubts wherever they were not convinced. Mr. Strabo's book has been taken by them as the most reliable piece of evidence. Mr. Strobo's book itself, be it remembered, is a compilation of extracts from the diary of Megasthenes. Now the diary, in fact, was in the most dilapidated condition when it came into the hands of Mr. Strabo[60].

(59) Dr. Bhāndārakar, Aśoka, pp. 92:—"He who tries to create a schism shall be vested in white garments, and shall be transferred to a place where monks do not reside." (It ought to be "Upāśraya.")

(60) C. H. I. pp. 191.

Several pages were wholly missing, while several others were half destroyed; and the script was so dimmed, that it was difficult to decipher it. Mr. Strabo wrote his book on the evidence deduced from these pages and he added his own comments and conjectures wherever he found gaps and missing links. Thus Mr Strabo's book is neither a true reproduction of the entire diary, nor a very reliable synopsis of it. Thus the very foundation, on which the edifice of the history has been built, is unsteady and wavering. We have already shown what injustice is done to the whole of Indian history by falsely identifying Sandrecottus with Chandragupta, on the authority of this book. I have already tried to disprove this false theory, and I have *quoted (f. n. 8 p. 212)*. an extract from, ' Pompei Trogi " Mr. Crindle—the extract which Prof. Hulczsch quoted on P. 32: of his Inscriptions Corporatum Indicus. In the original diary, the word written was " Alexandrum "; as the first two or three letters have been effaced in course of time,[61] the word was read as " Xandrum " which has been considered synonymous with " Nandrum ". We know that Chandragupta defeated the ninth Nand king and came to the throne of Magadh. Mr. Strabo, thinking that the king who opposed Nand IX, was very brave—and indeed he was–must have been a fit adversary for Alexander, so he identified him with Sandrecottus, mentioned in the Greek history. Again, there was a similarity of sounds between the two names, which appealed to him as well as to subsequent scholars. We have prepared a regular chronological list of the kings that ruled over Magadh since 600 B. C. and have proved that Chandragupta[62] was never a contemporary of Alexander; and that it was Aśoka who opposed the Greek emperor. The author of all the rock and pillar edicts, has been fixed up by them, a king who lived fifty years after Sandrecottus. When we have proved that Sandrecottus was none other than Aśoka, the author of these edicts was certainly not Aśoka, but the king who came to the throne of Magadh 50 years after him. This was none other than his grandson

(61) Pp. 213 above, f. n. no. 17.

(62) It is probable that Sandrecottus is derived from Chāndraguptus, which, according to the rules of Sanskrt Grammar, means, a descendant of Chandragupta.

Priyadarśin. When we thus prove that the author of rock and pillar edicts was Priyadarśin, we must admit that they were connected with Jainism, because, that was the faith he devoutly followed.[63] Thus we come to the conclusion that all the rock and pillar edicts are connected with Priyadarśin.

The Hāthigumfā edicts of king Khārvel contain preachings and other matter[64] which resemble the contents of his edicts. (G. V. S. Aśoka P. 90). This proves that both Khārvel and Priyadarśin followed the same faith. It is an accepted theory by all that Khārvel was a Jain; so Priyadarśin was a Jain too. This theory is supported by the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi ( Appendix at the end of this Vol.).

Below are given some more proofs to show that Priyadarśin followed Jainism:—

(1) On P. 189 above, we have proved that Kauṭalya-Chāṇakya followed the faith which was also followed by the author of the rock–edicts.

(2) On P. 188 it has been proved that Chandragupta and Chāṇakya were followers of the same faith. This shows that these two and the author of the rock–edicts—Priyadarśin—followed the same faith.

(3) It has already been proved that Chandragupta was a Jain; the author of Hāthigumfā edict was also a Jain.

(4) Both Chandragupta and Priyadarśin went on a pilgrimage to Girnār with a Saṅgha (Sudarśan Lake Incription.)

(5) The Sudarśan Lake Inscription shows that it was Chandragupta, who played that chief part in getting it dug and built; it also shows that later on, it was repaired by the orders of Priyadarśin. This proves that both followed the same faith. (Appendix on the Lake at the end of the Vol.)

(6) Priyadarśin's edicts tell us that his predecessors had also paid much attention to the work of the propagation of the faith

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(63) For details read appendix A at the end of this vol. verse no. 102 of Rājataraṅgini is quoted there. Cf. its meaning with the paragraph above.

(64) Pp. 296 and f. n. no. 38.

that he followed; but they were not as successful as he was. This clearly shows that he, as well as his ancestors followed Jainism.

(7) In short, Chandragupta, Priyadarśin, Khārvēl, Chāṇakya —all the four were followers of Jainism. The coins also irrefutably prove this. (Chap. on coins). Details about his rock-edicts[65] and the manner in which they prove that he was a Jain will be given in " Life of Priyadarśin " shortly to be published by me.

**The greatness of his faith**

Priyadarśin's rock and pillar edicts unanimously proclaim that Jainism is an all-embracing and comprehensive faith worthy to be universally established.[66]. Its tenets, scrupulously observed, bring happiness and peace not only to the observer with regard to his this life and subsequent lives, but to all around him. It is for this reason that I intend to discuss in detail here, a point or two, though some readers might take it as a digression. The sheet anchor of Jaina philosophy is " Syādvād ", the theory of being and not being, or the theory of explaining an absolute truth or value in its various aspects of relativity. An instance will suffice. A woman is seen by various persons connected with her as mother, daughter, sister, wife, aunt and so on. None of the persons is entirely correct in his connotation of that woman, yet none of them is entirely wrong. (This is called "Naya" in Jainism). Again, many persons are prejudiced against Jainism because of their faulty notions about the Jaina principle of non-violence. They criticise that while the Jains are very kind to small insects like ants, they care little for human beings[67]. Again, some others say that as the Jains follow the creed of non-violence, they cannot

(65) The author of these rock-edicts was Priyadarśin and not Aśoka. So they are all connected with Jainism. Further details and proofs, together with extracts and translations, from rock-edicts will be given in the "Life of Priyadarśin" shortly to be published by me.

(66) M. S. I. pp. 464:—"We understand that Aśoka (it ought to be Priyadarśin); never offended the followers of any other faith; he propagated common tenets of all faiths in the name of religion."

(67) Such an instance is given in "Vanarāj Chāvaḍā" by the late Mahīpatarām Ruparām Nilakanth.

take part—are unfit for taking part[68]—in wars and battles involving loss of human as well as of animal life. Those of them, however, who try to study and understand "Syādvād" will be disillusioned in these matters and will see that Jaina tenets preach entirely a novel and invigorating philosophy. The Jains abhor all violence, which has any evil motive behind it; but whenever they find it necessary to resort to violence for some good purpose, they unhesitatingly do so, as is amply proved by the acts of Priyadarśin, Kumārpāl, Vastupāl, Tejpāl, Udayan, Munjāl[69] and many others. All these tenets are clearly explained in the edicts of Priyadarśin; and that is, why the faith is acceptable and agreeable to all sorts of people. It was the universality of these tenets that made it easy for Priyadarśin to spread its gospel, not only in India but in Central Asia; and as he never practised coercion or intimidation, persons following any other faith, willingly accepted Jainism[70]. I hope, this will remove the prejudice from the minds of those scholars, who believe that the East gave nothing to the West[71] in point of religion, culture and civilization. Persons following any other faith, if they try to study Jaina doctrines, will find that not only Jainism has all the tenets preached by their own faith, but some more—and those too necessary and illuminating—which are conspicuous by their absence in the faith that they follow. This is the reason why some faiths established before[72] the time of Priyadarśin and others after[73] his time,

(68) Many scholars hold this opinion at present.

(69) He was the prime-minister of the powerful Solankī king Siddharāj, the son of Karṇadev. (For details about him read "Pāṭaṇ nī Prabhutā" by Kanaiyālāl Munshi).

(70) Dr. Bhāndārakar—vide J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. XX, pp. 367:—"He was not actuated by a sectarian spirit, but by a simple respect for faith." Cf. f. n. no. 79 below.

(71) M. S. I., pp. 485.—"Prof. Rhys David says that the Greeks are not in the least indebted to any Eastern faith, all talks about any such influence are unreliable." On what authority does the learned professor base his statement? Ibid. Pp. 485.—"This statement of Prof. Rhys David is not free from racial partialism." Cf. further the paragraph on "Gigantic idols."

(72) Buddhism, the Ājīvika sect and others.

(73) Christianity and Islām and others.

contain doctrines very similar[74] to those propounded by Jainism. The followers of these faiths consider themselves as belonging to a separate faith, because, the "Syādvād" of the Jains differs from the philosophy of their faiths, in some respects. Thus Jainism can very appropriately be established as a universal faith.

For the sake of clarity we shall divide his activities into four parts:—(1) religious (2) political (3) social and (4) economic.

**Social reforms and other activities of Priyadarśin.**

All these activities were undertaken and successfully practised by him, in close relation with one another, with a view to a harmonious development of the society as a whole. We shall deal with them briefly here[75] and show how comprehensive these reforms and activities were and how happy people were under his rule. His reforms not only conduced to the happiness of human beings[76] but to those of other animals also.

(1) He divided his religious activities into two parts:—those pertaining to this world; and those two subsequent births. If a man's acts during his present life are meritorious, he will be able to lead a better life in his next birth. This means that every one should try to make the most of the present life in order to get a better future life. This was the doctrine which worked behind all the activities of Priyadarśin. He did not encourage the division of human society into castes[77] or classes, because he understood that such divisions were unnatural, arbitrary and harmful[78]. He therefore put before his subjects only those tenets of Jainism which they could easily grasp and put into practice;

(74) Chap. I, for details about Buddhism.

(75) For details see my "Life of Priyadarśin" which is to be published in a short time.

(76) The number of those who followed Jainism during his time was about 400 millions. ( "Mahān Samptati," pp. 220 ).

(77) It seems that there certainly were castes during his times, though their number was not as large as it is at present. (Rock-edict 3). For the meaning of the word "Caste" see pp. 66 f. n. no. 17; and vol. I. pp. 25 onwards.

(78) Cf. the evils of communalism that we see to day.

he avoided doctrines, involving intricacy; because he hoped that if people first began with doctrines, which were within their easy grasp, they were sure to come to finer doctrines by and by. With this idea in his mind, he taught them religious tolerance[79], mutual respect for one another, proper relations between the teacher and the pupil, service of the sick, the disabled and of all in distress, mercy towards all beasts, birds and insects, and building of public institutions like hospitals and others.

( Details will be given later on ). He perfectly understood the significance of the proverb, "Example is better than precept", and so he and all his kith and kin took active part in all these activities. He created a regular class of officer–missionaries, called Dhamma Mahāmātrās[80], who travelled throughout the empire to preach the gospel of Jainism and to look to the general well-being of all the people. They were also given some powers, which they were to use with care, in measures conducive to the good of the society as a whole. They were required to submit reports of their work at regular intervals. They were transferred from one province to another at first[81] every three years ( rock–edict No. 3 ) and later on every five years (rock–edict No. 13), with a view to avoid evils, connected with the long time–stay of the same man in a particular province.

The whole of India was under his power. Hence the Jaina monks could go to any place in India and preach the Jaina doctrines, thus widening and supplementing the work of missionaries. Proper arrangements were made for their boarding and lodging, and for all the rites and rituals to be observed by them. But these monks could not go outside India, to the newly conquered territory in central Asia. According to the advice of his preceptors, persons were trained in all the Jaina doctrines and then

(79) He never got the flag of any non–Jaina temple lowered down. (Pp. 298 f. n. 47); no doubt his people dared not do anything of the kind. (F. n. 70 above).

(80) Rock–edict no. 14.

(81) It is probable that missionaries in countries near one another were transferred every three years and those staying in distant countries were transferred every five years.

they were sent to these countries as missionaries for the propagation of the faith. These persons were not regularly ordinated monks, who have to observe the five principal vows of:–Ahiṃsā, Satya, Asteya, Brahmacharya and Aparigraha. The governors of these provinces were instructed to provide all facilities to these persons. Thus he spared no pains to spread his faith in India as well as outside India. As a proof of these activities, even to-day are found relics[82] of Āryan civilization in Asia Minor and Palestine.

All his vassal kings were called together by him in Avanti and were informed that the propagation of his faith among their subjects would please him more than any other kind of service rendered by them. Indeed, there was no vassal king who did not want to please the emperor, and so all of them tried their best to fulfil his ambition as far as possible. Temples were built and idols were consecrated in large numbers in them.

Thinking that all his present efforts would be less effective in course of time, he perpetuated the doctrines of his faith and his devotion to them, in numerous rock and pillar edicts.

Now we turn to his efforts to protect animal life. Stringent laws were enacted against the killing of all kinds of animals without any special cause. The custom of game-keeping and hunting was entirely abolished. The number of peacocks butchered and cooked at his own kitchen was reduced to only three. Animal fights on festivals, were stopped, and castration of bulloks was prohibited. On certain days in the year, no fisherman was allowed to angle or to catch any fish[83]. Thus various ways were devised by him to protect animal life.

(2) His social reforms were equally exemplary and far-reaching. A sufficient number of wells and tanks was dug for adequate water-supply to human beings as well as to animals. He got the Sudarśan Lake repaired. He turned the minds of his subjects towards religion and morality. Societies were established and regular gatherings were made and meetings held for the better

(82) Pp. 271 & seq. above and f. ns. connected with it.

(83) See his rock-edicts.

occupation of the minds of the people during their leisure hours. Gardens and recreation-grounds were to be found everywhere. In those places scenes from the lives of Jaina prophets were staged before the people to keep them constantly in touch with religion. Some of these scenes included the deva-vimān, the elephant, the fire-pillar and others. (Rock-edicts No. 14). Hospitals for human beings as well as for animals were conducted in a sufficiently large numbers. Old and disabled animals were kept in separate places and were properly taken care of. All medicinal plants and hurbs that grew in foreign countries, were imported and grown in India. Maternity hospitals and nursing-homes, in which women doctors and nurses worked, were opened at suitable places. The old and the disabled were fed and clad by a separated department conducted by the state. This shows that his social forms and activities aimed at the general amelioration and happiness of his people.

(3) Economic reforms: He understood fully well that trade is the chief source of the prosperity and progress of a nation. Trade-centres[84] of different provinces were linked together with a net-work of trunk-roads and other roads. Trees were planted on both the sides of the roads in order to provide shade and shelter to the travellers as well as to beasts of burden. Wells and tanks were dug at regular intervals. Travellers' houses and caravan-saries were not wanting. Milestones were placed along the roads in order to show distance from one place to another. Old roads were repaired. Excise rules and regulations were revised, laws derogatory to the development of trade were repealed, and others were enacted. He had directed his attention to water-routes also. Canals were dug from large rivers; and these canals were made navigable for ships. Irrigation canals were also dug for proper and timely supply of water to the crops.

For persons physically disabled, and for religious preachers and other mendicants, separated kitchens were conducted; and they were directly supervised by him. His interest in this was due

(84) He invited ambassadors from foreign countiies, for cultivating political and commercial relations with them.

to his having undergone many difficulties in his previous life, when he was a mendicant himself. He also understood the merit of giving food to the needy and the hungry. He was particularly absorbed in giving food to the Jaina monks; indeed so much was the emperor's zeal for it, that though the Jaina monks are religiously prohibited to accept food from kings[85], yet many monks habitually did so. As a result Ārya Mahagiri, the religious elder brother of Ārya Suhastin[86] severely reprimanded the latter for his negligence and such breach of rules and stop it

An emperor like Priyadarśin must certainly not have lagged behind in extending educational facilities to all his subjects, though we find little allusion to them in either rock or pillar inscriptions. One more thing deserves notice here[87]. Hitherto only cast coins were current; but he seems to have started die sunk coins, with only his suggestive sign. He was the first to do this. He had selected "Elephant" for this purpose, because when he entered the phœtus of his mother, she had seen in a dream a white elephant[88] entering her mouth. He got this sign embossed not only on the coins of Avanti but also on the coins of all provinces and vassal kings. The sign was embossed on the obverse side. This proves that those regions[89] from which we find these coins, must have been under the power of Priyadarśin.

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(85) Food prepared at the expense of the king.

(86) Ārya Mahāgiri died in A. M. 246=B. C. 281, while these kitchens were opened largely during A. M. 243 to 251=B. C. 284 to 276. However, some must have existed before that. Or Ārya Mahāgiri must have died earliar than A. M. 246 (pp. 293 f. n. no. 24). If it be so, Priyadarśin must have taken the eight vows under him, instead of under any other monk.

(87) We have reasons to believe that the observatory at Ujjain must have been established by him. S. J. I. D. pp. 247 —"Aśoka (it must be Priyadarśin) made Ujjain the Greenwich of ancient India."

(88) Bhābrā Vairāt rock-edict and fig. no. 28 about the dream of Māyādevī, also pp. 130-1 f. n. no. 22.

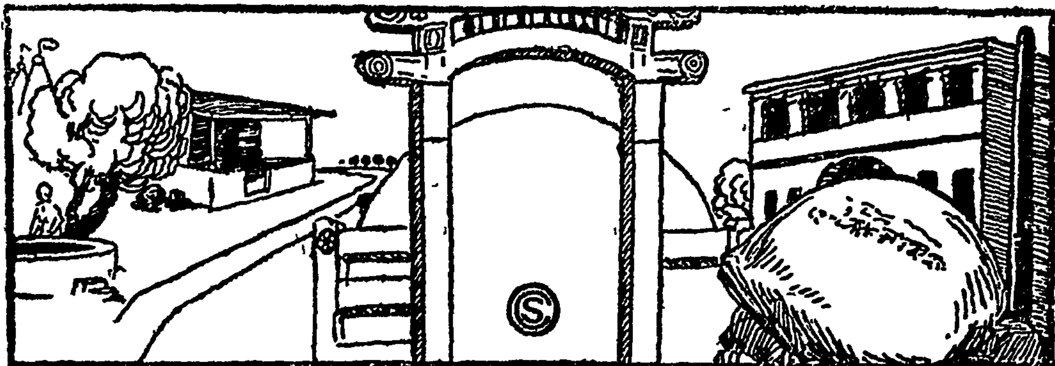
(89) Coins found near the Māṇikyāl rock-edict in N. W. F. India also bear the sign. I do not know whether similar coins have been found out from Syria, Arabia or Asia Minor. I hope that experts will throw light on it.

He must certainly have encouraged sea voyages for trade purposes in order to foster and develop foreign trade. Though the edicts contain very little reference to this, yet we know that in those times Indian merchants traded with countries like Greece, Egypt and China.

(4) He was very particular to see that proper justice was administered to all his people. Welfare of his people[90] was his first and foremost consideration. His own happiness and luxuries were a secondary consideration. People could approach him with a complaint at any odd time[91]. Details will be given later on.

(90) Cf. the lives of the modern native states' kings of India.

(91) See the pillar-edicts.



# Chapter IV

## Priyadarśin (contd.)

**Synopsis:**—*Administrative changes introduced by Priyadarśin in the reforms, that were instituted by Chandragupta in compliance with the counsel of Chāṇakya, in the administrative system, first established by Śreṇik—His wisdom in associating his relatives with the administrative machinery—His twenty-one political divisions of his empire, the capital of every division and the governor over it—His numerous rock and pillar edicts and gigantic idols—It has been hitherto believed that they were erected from the political point of view; it is however not so; they are erected only from the religious point of view—Discussion, as to whether, who is indebted to whom, from the view point of civilization and culture, the east to the west or the west to the east—Sudarśan Lake was built only from a religious point of view—Comparison of the life of Priyadarśin with those of Indian, as well as foreign, emperors and philosophers.*

Śreṇik was the first to divide society into guilds according to different professions. These divisions continued with some changes of degree and not of kind, till the time of Chandragupta. Chāṇakya introduced several changes and revised the whole system to suit the conditions prevailing in his own times. His four methods of executing any political activity, were thoroughly established. The marriage of Aśoka with a foreign princess-daughter of Seleucus Necator—western civilization began to wield influence over the court as well as over the society.[1] It specially influenced the organization of the army[2]. Priyadarśin introduced still more important changes. These changes were, however, in confirmity with the principles initiated by Mahāvīr. None of his changes impeded in any way to the all-sided progress of his people, but on the contrary, helped it.

**Political administration**

The first important and political wise change that he made was to transfer the seat of his capital from Pāṭliputra, which was situated in one corner of his empire, to Ujjaini-Avanti, which was situated just in the centre. This change[3] was effected also, due to certain circumstances. After some time, he divided his empire into political divisions and appointed members of the royal family as governors over them[4]. (The system of appointing governors

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(1) Inter-caste marriages were already allowed in India; now began the custom of international-marriages. Some historians believe that Chandragupta initiated this custom. I have not been able to find sufficient proofs to warrant this belief. (Pp. 251 above).

(2) Cf. the conditions prevailing during the time of Śreṇik and of Chandragupta.

(3) He selected this place in order that he might be able to keep watch over all the provinces from a central position. Again, Aśoka had appointed Daśarath as the Governor of Magadh with Pāṭaliputra as its capital, and Priyadarśin had no desire to disturb this arrangement.

(4) See Sudarśan Lake Inscription; Epi. Ind. Vol. VII, pp. 39 and onwards.

was initiated during the reign of Nandivardhan[5]. Chuṭukānand Mahārathi[6] over Kolhāpur and the father of queen Nāganikā over another region, are instances of the kind. These governors, however, were almost independent and the suzerainty of the emperor was only nominal. While the governors appointed during the Mauryan rule were under the rigid control of the central power.) Priyadarśin appointed governors over every province[7], far and near. His aim in appointing members of the royal family as governors was two-fold. They might receive training in political administration and as well remain faithful to the central power. Again for the annuities given to them, this was the service exacted from them. In times of difficulty their help, co-operation, and counsel[8] would be valuable.

Details about all these political divisions, their capitals and governors over them, may be properly given in a book specially devoted to the life of Priyadarśin. A summary only is given below.

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(5) For more details vol. I. pp. 352 to 356.

(6) The coins (nos. 47 to 52) tell us that Mūlānand and Chuṭukānand were chiefs owing allegiance to Āndhra kings and not to the Nanda kings.

(Their very names suggest their relations with the Nandas, while the type and provinance of their coins suggest their connection with the Āndhras.)

(7) Aśoka appointed governors over distant provinces only; while Priyadarśin appointed governors over all the provinces with a view to division of labour and responsibility.

(8) This system has been almost universally accepted in all the States to-day; e. g. the United States of America. Different departments are entrusted to different ministers, who hold the same political view, dictated by a party-code.

The same system was well adopted in vast commercial organizations. Some merchants hold the opinion that it is safer to entrust capital and administration to relatively strange persons than to one's kith and kin, because the latter are more likely to practise deceit than the former. It is an interesting and debatable subject. The reader will judge for himself which of the two methods is better.

| No. | Province | Governor | Capital |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Avanti—Modern Mālva, Mevāḍ, and a part of central India. (Territories of Scindhiā, Holkar and Bhopāl are included). | Personally ruled by the emperor; probably the governor was one of the princes–may be the heir apparent. (f. n. 12). | Ujjayini—of the west division and Vidiśa–of the east. |
| 2 | Ānarta, Śvabhra and Saurāṣṭra. (The last consisted of modern North Gujarāt and Kāthīāwār); probably Cutch also. | His younger brother Śāliśuk[9], who was later on transferred to Magadh. | Probaly Asthikagrām; its name was changed into Wardhamānpuri in the 7th Cent. A. D.; modern Wadhwān. |
| 3 | Marudeś—Modern Rajputānā, Cutch, if it was not included in no. 2 above. | Name unknown[10] ( Probably it was taken as the province of the Bhojakās.[11]) | The capital was situated at the place, near which is found out the rock–edict of Bhābra–vairāṭ; the name was probably Trambāvaṭi or Harśapuri. * |

(9) J. O. B. R. S. 1928, Sept. pp. 416; Buddhiprakāśa pp. 76 and 78 and further. Pdt. Jayasvāl says that Śāliśuk was the son of Suyaśa, (on the authority of a certain manuscript of Bhāgavat purāṇ). But Suyaśa is only another name of Kuṇāl; hence Śāliśuk was the younger brother of Samprati; pp. 236, f. n. no. 63 for the chronological list.

(10) Whenever it is stated, "The name is not known," it is probable that a member of the royal family was not appointed as the governor; but an "Āryakumār" must have been appointed there.

(11) F. n. no. 24 below.

* For the situation of this vide Vol. III.

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|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | Sindh–Sauvīr—(Modern Sindh, the desert of Jesalmīr, & the northern portion of the desert of Cutch); Baluchistān, southern Punjāb, which contains the state of Bhāvalpur. | Prince Vṛṣasen, (Vṛṣabhasen) the heir apparent.[12] | Cannot be definitely located; it was probably in the Lārkhānā district or near it, in the vicinity of the Mohan-ja-Dero excavations. The capital in ancient times was Vīttabhayapaṭṭaṇ, which was later on destroyed. |
| 5 | Gāndhār–Kamboj, nearly the whole of Punjāb; North-West Provinces and Afaghānistān. | Name not known; probably one of the brothers of the emperor.[13] | Probably Taxilā; it may not have been the old Takṣaśilā, but the new one founded at a little distance in the west. |
| 6 | Kāśmir[14]—The whole of modern Kāśmir and the region about the Hindukuś and the province of Bactriā. (It was called Yon at that time). | Prince Jālauk (son of Priyadarśin). | Śrinagar was founded as the capital. |

(12) It is probable that Vṛṣasen was not the heir-apparent at first; he must have been raised to that position due to the death of his elder brother, while suppressing some rebellion. (Pp. 265, f. n. no. 49). The name given to him by some, is Sobhagasanus (M. S. I. pp. 654):—"According to Tārānāth, Vṛṣasen was the governor of Gāndhār." (C. A. R. pp. 512); "Probably he was the governor of "Gāndhār." Tibetian Buddhist books tell us that Vṛṣasen was the successor of Samprati."

(13) This prince seems to have been murdered or died in that province, while suppressing a rebellion there. Then provinces nos. 4 and 5 seem to have been amalgamated.

(14) H. U. Chho. (G. V. S.) pp. 117.—"Mauryan Empire included the valley of Kāśmir within its fold, during the reign of Aśoka (it ought to be Priyadarśin).

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| 7 8 9 | Persia, Arabia and some portions of Asiai Turkey; it is not known, what name was given to them as a whole. | Vassal kings. | Names not found. |
| 10 | Khoṭān and Tibeṭ; the areas as they are at present. | Prince Kusthan (the real name is not known). | Name not known. |
| 11 | Nepāl[15]—Bhutān and modern Nepāl; it included the valleys of the Himālayas. | Devpāl, the son-in-law of Priyadarśin and husband of princess Chārumatī.[16] | Lalitapaṭṭaṇ was founded as the new capital;[17] it was also called Devpaṭṭaṇ. |
| 12 | Magadh—Modern Bengal and almost the whole of Bihār. (It is not definite whether Asām was included or not[18]). | Prince Daśarath, the first cousin of Priyadarśin; he was made the independent governor of the province; when he | Pāṭaliputra |

(15) H. U. Chho. (G. V. S.) pp. 109:—"Rock-edicts and other relics, found near Dev-paṭṭaṇ and attributed to Aśoka and his daughter, prove that the region around it, was a part of the Mauryan Empire."

(16) H. U. Chho. (G. V. S.) pp. 110:—"The ruling dynasty in the 7th century A. D. was a Licchchhavī family. It cannot be definitely stated what relations they had with the Lichchhavīs of Vaiśālī." It is possible that the writer was unaware of the details given in this book. The readers, of course, will now clearly understand it.

(17) F. n. nos. 15 and 16 above.

(18) The mountain ranges, which began with the Himālayas and ended with the Andāmāns constituted the boundaries of the empire of Samprati as well as of India itself. Assām and Burmā were not included within the empire as well as within India.

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| | | died without any heir, Śaliśuk, the younger brother of Priyadarśin, was appointed in his place.[19] | |
| 13 | Allhābād–Kāśī. Its ancient name is not known; consisted of modern United Provinces, the kingdom of Kauśāmbī, the eastern portion of the Central India Agencies and a portion of the Central Provinces. | Prince Tivar, the second son of Priyadarśin; his real name[20] is not known. | Cannot be definitely stated; some place near Allhābād–Prayāg, near which, is found out the Kośam edict. |
| 14 | Hastināpur:–U. P. (Its ancient name is not known; the region situated between the Sutlaj and Kanoj; upto the Himālayās in the north and the Jamnā in the south. | Name not known. | Probably Hastināpur or Indraprastha; which was near modern Meerut. |
| 15 | Satyaputra—Satapatra–Satapata–Sātpudo:–the region about the Sātpudā ranges; it included Berār and the southern part of the central provinces. | Name not known. | Probably near modern Amrāoti; or Tripuranagar near Jubbalpore (The father of Queen Nāganikā of the Nāśik edict fame, ruled over this region.)[21]. |

(19) No. 2 province above.

(20) This prince may have been appointed as the heir–apparent; he may then have assumed the name of Vṛṣabhasen. Cf. pp. 265 "sons and daughters" para.

(21) Mālvika, whom the Śuṅga king Agnimitra married, was the daughter of the governor of this province.

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| 16 | Kaling[22]:-modern Chhoṭā Udepur; the Northern Circārs of Madras Presidency; some western portion of Bihar. | Tosaliputta, (The capital was Tosalinagari; one who was the governor over that capital, was called Tosaliputta.) | Tosali nagari-on the banks of the lake Chilkā near Jagannāthpuri. |
| 17 | Āndhra:—region between the source of the Godāvarī to the Kṛṣnā and some portion south of it. | Āndhra kings[23] as vassals. | Paiṭhaṇ *:—situated near the source of the Godāvarī. |
| 18 | Cholā kingdom:—Sea-coast east of the modern districts of Kaḍappā and Belārey in the north and from the Kṛṣṇā to Kānjivaram in the south. | Cholā kings as vassals- a branch of the Mauryas; Āryakumār[24]. | Probably Arkāt:-(Amarāoti near Bezvāḍā :— (for details about Amarāoti, Vol. I. pp. 147 & seq.) |

(22) At the beginning of Samprati's rule, this province was under the power of the Āndhra kings. When the Āndhra king rose against him, he defeated him and conquered this province. (The chief aim in defeating the Āndhra king was religious; the Āndhra king was not a Jain, and so persecuted the Jaina pilgrims, who travelled through his territory. For details vide the account of Āndhra kings).

(23) These vassal kings' coins bear Priyadarśin's sign, "The Elephant" on the obverse side. Jaina books tell us that Samprati re-instated on the throne some kings whom he had defeated; one of them was the Āndhra king. A federal system of government existed at that time. (F. n. no. 24 below). It is stated in the Sudarśan Lake Inscription that the king of this country was a relative of the emperor, and hence, though he defeated him twice, he did not dethrone him. After the second conquest, however, Kaling was taken away from him and was annexed to the empire. A "Devkumār" was appointed as a governor over it.

* There are two Paiṭhanas (more clearly, one is Peinth and the other is Python) of these two which was the capital, see the description under the Āndhra Dynasty Vol. IV.

(24) Over some conquered territories, members of the royal family were appointed as governors and they were part and parcel of the empire; over

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|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | Pāṇḍyā kingdom: South of Cholā upto cape Comorin on the west coast. | Pāṇḍyā kings as vassals[25]; in the same position as Cholās above. | Madurā. |
| 20 | Keralputta:- Modern Mulbār, Cochin, Trivendrum and the district of Kurga. ( Southern portion of the Sahyāndries ). | Keralputta:- Āryakumār governing the province and named after the province. | Isalipaṭṭaṇ :—its present situation cannot be definitely located. |
| 21 | Suvarṇabhūmi:—Modern Mysore and probably southern Canarā. | Name not known. | Probably Chittala-durga. |
| 22 | Aparānt:—from the south of the Tāpti to the south Canarā; region between the Sahyāndries and the Arabian sea. | Name not known. | Soparāk — near modern Nālāsoparā. |

Governors, who were members of the royal family were called "Devakumāras;" while others were called, "Āryakumāras" or Āryaputtas." These governors had to conduct the affairs of the administrations according to rules and regulations framed for the

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some conquered territories. The defeated kings were established as vassal kings with independent powers as regards internal administration. This is why Priyadarśin called them "Bordering Countries."

(25) At first Nandivardhan appointed governors over this province; then Khārvel conquered it and included it within Kaling. His descendant, Vakragrīv, while dividing the spoils of the victory with Chandragupta, after the defeat of the Ninth Nanda king, died because of coming into contact with "Viṣakanyā." From that time Kaling, Cholā and Pāṇḍya and other territories were annexed to the Mauryan empire. Priyadarśin inherited them, as they belonged to the Maurya dynasty, Priyadarśin called them "Bordering Countries," though they were only in the south of the Āndhra territory.

governance of the provinces, in Avanti by the ministers. The provinces themselves had councils of their own, to help the governor in efficient administration. Details about other officers have already been given in the account of Chandragupta. Over and above them, he had appointed missionaries in every province, for the work of religious propagation and for social welfare. He used to pay visits to provinces, to inspect the work going on there.

One thing deserves notice here. An emperor did not usually annex the territory of a particular king, because he had defeated him in the battle[26]. If a vassal king died without any heir, his kingdom was annexed to the empire. Priyadarśin introduced the custom of re-instating some dethroned kings on their throne[27]; he used to invite them to Avanti for counsel and conference. His empire, thus was a perfect net-work of federal states in which amicable relations existed between the ruler and the ruled.

His edicts.

The edicts of Priyadarśin have made him immortal, more than anything else. They have been of the greatest help in keeping the chain of the true history unbroken and in dispelling darkness and errors in the vast abyss of Indian history. Want of space does not allow us to dwell at length upon every aspect connected with them. We shall rest content with giving only an outline and salient points:–

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(26) Lord Dalhousie had promulgated the system of "Lapse."

(27) F. n. no. 22 above; Jain books state this. Though no instances are given, yet looking to the character and disposition of Priyadarśin, it is not unreasonable to believe that he might have adopted this system. The edicts also do not contain any allusion to it. (It is just likely).

Another possibility is that the chiefs of Cholā, Pāṇḍya and other were Jains from the beginning. The Āndhra kings, when they came into power, may have subdued them (during the time of Vilīvayakur ndhra). Samprati brought the whole of Dakṣiṇāpath within his power and re instated the chiefs in their original positions.

This shows that the Cholā, the Pāṇḍya and the other dynasties had been ruling over their respective territories even before the time of Priyadarśin. They were in a way independent and so Priyadarśin has mentioned them as Bordering Lands in his rock-edicts. But these do not mean that they were not under the paramountcy of Priyadarśin. (Pp. 270 to 277, and f. nos. about them).

His edicts consist of Rock-edicts; Minor Rock-edicts, Pillar edicts and many others. These last have not been mentioned by any historian, because of the false theory of identifiying Chandragupta with Sandrecottus and thus attributing all these edicts to Aśoka, who was a Buddhist. Hence many edicts of Priyadarśin, which they could not convincingly fix up as having connection with Buddhism, have been ignored by them. Again in his edicts only, he has mentioned his name as "King Priyadarśin". While the countless Jaina temples and idols, erected and set up by him, bear no trace of his name. Such was his humility. The relics of his devotion to history will draw high encomiums of praise from all subsequent generations, as they have done in the past.

Details about the arts of these edicts will be given later on. Here we shall concern ourselves with the places where they have been erected, their subject matter and the purpose.

Let us first turn to the question of the selection of the place. Some scholars have come to the conclusion that, his edicts were erected on the boundary line of his empire and thus are indications to its extent. We know, however, that his empire stretched throughout the length and breath of India. The Siddhagiri and Brahmagiri edicts, on the other hand, are situated in Mysore; the Śāhbāzgṛhi and Mumśera rock-edicts are found in the Punjāb, while his empire extended upto Syria. Again the edicts like Sahasrām, Rupnāth and Bhābrā-vairāṭ are situated within the very centre of his empire. Hence we come to the conclusions that the places of his edicts, have no connection with the boundaries of the empire.

His aim in erecting these edicts, as we already know, was the propagation and perpetuation of the gospel of his faith. Hence the places, which he selected were those, where deaths had taken place of various religious prophets and also of the members of the royal family. People might pass by them and be reminded of the sad, ever-lasting truth that death is sure to lay its icy hands sooner or later upon them. These might turn their minds from "affairs terrestrial to things spiritual" and thus make them more devoted to religion. They might read religious tenets, beautifully carved on the edicts, understand their far-reaching significance,

accept them and put them into practice, and thus become devoted Jains. And this actually happended many a time. ( See the rock-edict of Sahasrām ). Such was the idea behind the selection of these places.

Next, he began to think about the material, on which the eternal truths of his faith might be inscribed. Metal sheets would not be as lasting as rocks. He specially selected the granite rock for the purpose, so that his edicts might be as ever-lasting as the sun and the moon ( " yāvachchandradivākarau." )

Let us see what were the places he selected and who died there. He was a Jain. Twenty, out of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkars, the Jaina books tell us, died on Mount Sametaśikhar in Bihar.[28] Of the remaining four, the first Tīrthaṅkar, Ṛsabhdev died on Mt. Aṣṭāpad, Neminath on Mount Girnār; Vāsupūjya on a peak near Champānagari[29]; and Mahāvīr in Pāvāpuri. Naturally Priyadarśin selected these five places, first and foremost. He got large Rock-edicts erected at these places and his sign " the elephant " is found in all of them. He got Minor Rock-edicts[31] erected, at places where took place deaths of the members of the royal family[30]. These do not have " the elephant ". One of the Minor Rock-edicts, which was erected by him to show his birth-place-Virāṭ, however, does contain " the white elephant " because,

(28) Aṣṭāpade Śrī Ādijinavar ।
Nema Revāgiri varu ॥
Vāsupūjya Champānayar siddhā ।
Śrī Vīra Pāvāpurī varu ॥ (1)
Sametaśikhar, vīśa Jīnavar ।
Mokṣa pahotyā munivaru ॥
Chovīśa Jīnavar nityavandu ।
Sakala saṅgha suhaṁkaru ॥ (2)

(29) Pp. 327 for details about Rupanāth; f. n. no. 35.

(30) Jaina books have stated the number of temples and idols erected and repaired by Priyadarśin. They do not, however, contain information about rock-edits, because the places of death are not considered places of pilgrimage.

(31) For reasons why there are rock-edicts at Śāhbajagṛhī and Muṁśerā see pp. 328 to 329.

when he entered the phœtus of his mother, she had seen in a dream, a white elephant entering her mouth[32].

Let us take up Rock-edicts (R. E.) and minor Rock-edicts, (M. R. E.) one by one:—

| Place[33] | Purpose of erecting and other details |
| --- | --- |
| (1) Kālsi ( R. E. ) has " the elephant ". | The foot of Mount Asṭāpad, the place where Ādiśvar, the first Tīrthaṅkar, attained mokṣa (died). ( The Asṭāpad Mount had already been destroyed by the gods before the time of Priyadarśin, during whose time the place was selected for the memorial). |
| (2) Junāgadh-Girnār (R. E.) ( It has an allusion to the " white elephant "[34] and two lines ). | The place, where the 22nd Tīrthaṅkar, Neminātha attained salvation (died). The foot of the mountain has somewhat receded in course of time. It was at this place during the time of Priyadarśin. As a proof, see the Sudarśana Lake inscription; in which it is stated |

(32) This rock-edict had been a bit broken like the edict of Rupnāth. Looking to the reasons of Priyadarśin, having got the Bhārhut Stūpa repaired, and to the places of the deaths of his relatives, I have come to this conclusion. Avanti was the place of the residence of Kuṇāl, only after he became blind. The merchants of Virāṭ, a flourishing town, had trade relations with Avanti. The mother of Kuṇāl was the daughter of a merchant of Vidiśā and so was his wife. These are logical conclusions.

(33) At three of these five places "the Elephant" is found even to-day. For the remaining two, read what I have to say in their accounts. If we get proofs to that effect, the reasons and the purposes, which I have stated for the selection of the places and for the matter to be inscribed, will be proved to be true.

(34) On Pp. 228 of "Aśoka Charitra", G. V. S. it is stated that the Girnār R. E. has an "Elephant" in it. (No. 4).

that, the lake was dug at the foot of the mountain.

(3) Dhauli-Jāguda (R. E.)

( The foot of the mountain was near this place in ancient times. During the time of Priyadarśin it was near the place called " Bhuvaneśvarī " near which is "Hāthigumfā" of emperor Khārvel ". It has an "Elephant" at the entrance).

The place where twenty Tīrthaṅkars attained salvation ( Sametaśikhar mount ). Like Girnār's, its foot, has also receded. It is situated in Bengal. The summits are now found separated from one another. In ancient times they formed a connected range and the foot of the mount was in Orrisa and Bihar.

The author of Hathigumfā and the inscription in it, was emperor Khārvel. The Ājivika * sect is only a branch of Jainism; the monks of this sect were therefore, equally devoted to Mount Sametaśikhar. Khārvel had got this cave carved for these monks to put up there, while on a pilgrimage to the mount. Priyadarśin got " the elephant " carved out at the entrance of the cave. At other places there is merely a picture of the elephant or an allusion to it. This place being far more important than others, he has got the elephant carved out of stones.

* Some take him to belong to this Ājivik sect just as Prince Daśarath; and so I have included this word here.

(4) Rupnāth[35] (M. R. E.).

The place where the 12th Tīrthaṅkar, Vāsupūjya attained salvation; Champānagari was situated here. (Vol. I the paragraph entitled, " Champānagari, the capital of Kuṇik."

It is a M. R. E. at present. Further researches will, however, probably result into finding out more remnants of the edict. The inscription on it consists of only two to three lines; the remaining portion together with the " elephant " seem to have disappeared or been destroyed in the course of time. The archeological department tells us that there probably flourished a large town between Rupnāth and Bhārhut. This town was, in all probability, Champānagari of Kuṇik. At the foot[36] of the mountain near it, this M. R. E. was erected.

(5) Pāvāpuri:–The place where Mahāvīr attained salvation. The R. E. there, has not yet been found out; it will be unearthed sooner or later, as all other rock edicts have been. It must have been situated at the foot of one of the hills near the Sāñchī Stūpas.

While other Tīrthaṅkars attained salvation on mountains, Mahāvīr attained it in a horse paddock *, that lay vacant in the town. His cremation ceremony was however, performed on a hill–top[37]. The R. E. must have been at the foot of the hill with the Elephant sign on it. One of the Stūpas in this place is known as "Siddha–kā–sthān" Vide pp. 187 and is considered more important than others. Was it erected in memory of Mahāvīr ? Probably it was.

* Somewhere it is written a clerk–room.

(35) If the remains are excavated, it would be changed into R. E. in place of M. R. E.

(36) F. n. no. 29.

(37) These details are concerned with Jainism; so they will be fully dealt with in the book entitled "Life of Priyadarśin."

There are other rock-edicts also; but they do not bear the "Elephant" sign and hence are not religious in their significance. They were probably erected in memory of the members of the royal family, who died at these places. Some of these memorials are however, rock-edicts; while others are minor rock-edicts. Why so? The answer is[38] that, wherever the region was rocky, it was easy to procure as large a boulder of stone as was required. If this was not the case, the rock available in the place was used for the purpose; and sometimes such a rock had a ridge in it. (e. g. the Kālsi R. E.[39]) The place, where a person would die, cannot be foretold; if his death took place in a level region, the rock or the boulder had to be brought over there, from other places. Hence there was a difference in sizes.

(6-7) Śahbājgṛhī and Muṁśerā (R. E.).

One of them was erected in memory of Suṣima, the eldest son of Bindusār. He was killed in Punjāb, where he had gone to suppress a rebellion. The other was probably erected in memory of the younger brother of Aśoka (though he is said to have slain all his brothers) or it was erected more probably, in memory of the prince, who was sent there during the rule of Priyadarśin. His name was Suman.[40]

(38) F. n. no. 31.

(39) Some might argue that the ridge in the slab may be the result of the subsequent natural forces and that the slab must have been intact at first. Had that been so, however, some of the letters of the inscription must have also been split up due to it. The fact that, it is not so, proves that the stone had a ridge in it, when it was selected for the inscription.

(40) This place I had fixed up as commemorating the death of Tissā, alias Mādhavsiṁha, the body-guard of Prince Kuṇāl and the brother of Aśoka. I am, however, not quite definite now, which member of the royal family died there. Read the description of the Maśki R. E., f. n. no. 41 below.

(8) Bhābrā Vairāt or Bhābra Calcutta.

Birth-place of Priyadarśin

For details P. 324 last lines and f. n. no. 32 below it.

(9) Sahasrām. (M. R. E.)

The place where Aśoka died, in A. M. 256 ("256 Viyutha".)

As the edict was erected by Priyadarśin he made use of the M. E.; number 256 represents that Era. For proof of this vide the account of Aśoka. It is stated therein that Priyadarśin's age was 32 ½ at that time (A. M. 223 + 32½ = A. M. 256)

(10) Maski. (M. R. E.)

Probably in memory of Aśoka's brother Tiṣya[41], who stayed in Ujjaini as the body—guard of Kuṇāl. In Jaina books his name has been stated as " Mādhā vaśiṁha ".

(11-12-13)-Siddha-giri-Brahmagiri-Chittaladurga. (M. R. E).

For details see the Mumśerā R. E. above.

One of them was probably erected in memory of Chandragupta and the other two, in memory of those monks, who died with Chandragupta, by observing the vow of Samlekhaṇā. One of them may also have been in memory of Bhadrabāhu, the preceptor of Chandragupta; or for other members of the royal family.

(41) It has been stated in the account of the 6th Āndhra king that Priyadarśin's younger brother was killed in the battle here. Cf. f. n. no. 40.

From which it follows that, at one of the places died the brother of Aśoka and at the otherdied the son of Priyadarśin—either the heir-apparent or some other.

[ About the three colossal idols found in the vicinity of these M. R. E., please refer to the article "colossal idols" Nos. 1, 2 & 3 on pp. 335. ]

(14) Sopārā. (M. R. E.) The governor of Aparānt probably died here.

The Pillars are made of various materials and vary in size and height. Like the Rock-edicts, the selection of the places for their erection must have also been actuated by religious motives. Scholars have hitherto held the opinion that Pillar-edicts are connected with certain episodes in the life of Buddha. If a keen student, however, tries to investigate facts about them, he will surely come to the conclusion that the opinion is ill-founded, due to reasons which we have already stated.[42] They have no connection with Buddhism. They are erected by Priyadarśin and have connection with Jainism. On the top of every principal Pillar-edict, is perched the Lion[43], which is the sign of the last Jaina Tīrthankar, Mahāvīr. The matter inscribed on them refers to episodes in the life of Mahāvīr, a glance at which might remind the lookers of the fact that even Mahāvīr had to undergo and struggle against so many difficulties and impediments.[44] So they might grasp the

**Pillar edicts.**

(42) Read the arguments given at the end of chap. I. Cf. f. n. no. 43 below.

(43) I think all the pillar-edicts must have had the Lion at their top; but these "Lions" might have been destroyed in course of time. Or, just as the R. E. have been erected at places where the Tīrthankars died, so the P. E. must have been erected at places where any one of the five main stages of a Tīrthankar's life may have taken place. These stages—Kalyāṇakas—are Chyavan=entering the phœtus, birth, ordination, attaining knowledge and attainment of salvation. So a pillar-edict may have had the sign of that Tīrthankar, the stage of the life of whom, may have been commemorated at a particular place. (e. g. Sāranāth P. E.). These P. E. may have been many in number at first, and many of them may have been destroyed in course of time, or they may have been few in number from the first.

(44) As long as a Tīrthankar does not attain the Kaivalya stage, he avoids publicity. During this time he undergoes many hardships, sometimes

fact that if they want to liberate their souls from worldly shackles, the only way to do so is, to follow implicitly the gospel preached by Him. Such was the purpose of their erection.[45] Thus we see that both the Rock-edicts and the Pillar-edicts were erected from the same view-point, namely perpetuation and propagation of religious doctrines.

The Pillar-edicts are erected at places where Mahāvīr had to undergo great physical persecution and hardship,—called Upasarga in Jainism.—Details as to, at which place he underwent a particular form of hardship, are not given here, because they would be out of place in a book like this. Those readers who have a desire to know them are referred to "The Life of Mahāvīr" to be published by me.

There are certain Pillar-edicts which do not have the lion upon their top. Two explanations can be forwarded for this (f. n. nos. 43, 44):—(1) There must have been the lion at the top, but must have been destroyed in course of time;[46] or the emperor must have issued orders that such pillars must be erected at places where there are found slabs or boulders[47]. (2) If a pillar does not have this distinguishing Jaina sign, it may have connection

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self-inflicted, to mitigate his sins; but none after the Kaivalya stage; however Mahāvīr had to undergo many such hardships. Details about them are given in the "Life of Priyadarśin" and in the "Life of Mahāvīr," to be published by me.

(45) The custom of erecting memorials prevails in our times also.

(46) As these pillars are, however connected with Jainism, so no. 1 is a more probable reason than no. 2.

(47) At the end of the pillar-edicts it is stated:—"Wherever there are slabs or boulders, inscriptions must be made." No rock-edict or cave inscription ends in this way. So scholars have concluded that cave and rock inscriptions were effected after the pillar edicts. (G. V. S. Aśoka, pp. 247-87). This may be true or may not be. However it supports my conclusions stated above.

The rock edicts do not end in this way because they represent the places of the deaths of religious prophets or of the persons of the royal family—both of which are distinguished from each other by different signs. In the case of pillar edicts, those that were connected with the life of Mahāvīr, were crowned with a lion at the top. While others were erected at places wherever slabs were found. Hence, I suppose, there are two kinds of pillar edicts.

with Buddhism. Buddhist books tell us that Aśoka had got 84000 pillars erected for the spread of Buddhism. ( It is not, however, stated whether any one of them had any inscription upon it or not). Of course 84000 must have been an exaggeration. The true number must have been 84, as also Sir Cunningham believes. If the number had been really 84000, the famous Chinese Hu-en-Tśang, a staunch Buddhist, must have alluded to it some where in his account. But he has not. ( Records of the Western World, Pts. II; translated by Rev. S. Beal from the Travels of Hu-en-Tśang). He has mentioned pillars whenever he came across them in his travels from one province to another. But their number does not exceed 150. His predecessor Fa-he-yan has stated matters to the same effect. Thus we come to the conclusion that the pillars erected by Aśoka had no inscription upon them and that they were smaller in size than those erected by Priyadarśin.

We have stated on P. 323 that over and above his Rock—edicts and Pillar edicts, there are two more kinds of relics to his credit. No scholar's attention has yet been drawn towards them, because Priyadarśin, out of humility, did not get his name superscribed upon them. But the purpose and the place of their erection prove that it was Priyadarśin to whom they owe their existence. They are (1) Stūpas[48], and (2) Gigantic stone idols.

The motive behind erecting the Stūpas was religious[49]. Whenever any chief monk in the line of Mahāvīr died, his ashes were preserved in a box[50] and that box was deposited in a hollow place, over which was erected an edifice of a particular shape and size. These are called Stūpas. They were raised in memory of other monks

**The Stūpas**

(48) All the Stūpas have not been erected by him. Some of them have been erected by his predecessors. He was, however, the only emperor who got so many of them erected. Cf. the statement given at the end of the next paragraph.

(49) Pp. 57, where are quoted the words of Dr. Bülhar; cf. f. n. no. 73.

(50) For details about the preservation of ashes, see K. S. S. Com. pp. 123.

also. They were not necessarily built at the place where a particular monk died (Otherwise Priyadarśin would have erected R. E. at those places, because when he has erected R. E. in memory of the members of the royal family, he would certainly have done so in memory of those whom he revered with much more devotion, namely the monks.) So the stūpas were erected for the Sañchay[51]—collection of the ashes, e. g. the Bhilsā Topes.[52] Why this place was given preference to all the places is a question particularly connected with Jainism. The Jains believe that Mahāvīr attained salvation—his Mokṣa-kalyaṇak—[53] in Pāvāpuri. The name Pāvāpuri is right but there is no mention of its spot; it is supposed to be in Bengal[54]. No proof is forwarded in support of this belief. Priyadarśin has tried to commemorate the place where Mahāvīr attained salvation and has given ample material at one single place for the Jains to visit it and show their devotion to it. This is one of the many benefactions of Emperor Samprati over the Jaina community.[55] All the Stūpas have not been raised for the preservation of the ashes Some of them, when opened, revealed the boxes, while others did not, though they were in a sound condition. What the difference is, between these two kinds[56] of Stūpas is again a question specially connected with Jainism and hence we shall not discuss it here.

We have stated that most of the Stūpas have been erected in memory of various monks, and that their ashes are preserved

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(51) For details about the aptness of this word, vide pp. 185 and onwards.

(52) For details see the publication "The Bhilsā Topes" by Sir Cunningham.

(53) F. n. no. 43 above, for these "Kalyāṇakas."

(54) The followers of both the Śvetāmbar and the Digambar sects have squandered thousands of rupees for the ownership of this temple. Really speaking this place does not represent the Mokṣa—Kalyāṇak=the place of salvation.

(55) History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon by V. A. Smith, 1911, pp. 14.—"The huge mass of solid brick masonary known as the great stūpa of Sāñchī may be his (Aśoka, but we have to take it as "Priyadarśin") work.

(56) Details as to whose ashes are preserved in these stūpas, and as to why other stūpas have been raised without any ashes, will be given in my "Life of Priyadarśin."

in them. These monks, of course, died at different times. Even then, the language and the script on all of them are the same, i. e. those that prevailed during the time of Priyadarśin. This means that these ashes must not have been properly preserved before his time; but Priyadarśin looking at their deplorable condition, must have got them collected and erected the stūpas over them. Or we can explain the sameness of script and language on all of them due to the continuation of the script and the same language right from the time of Mahāvīr. This conjecture is more probable than the first, because the Bhārhut Stūpa, which has been erected by Ajātśatru, has the same script as those of the Sāñchī Stūpas. The Prasenjit Pillar and many others support this theory. This proves that, though the Stūpas were erected at different times, they have the same script because they are connected with one religion, namely Jainism.

**Colossal idols**

Priyadarśin's aim in getting such gigantic idols prepared must have been none other than religious, though we cannot assert this with full authority of evidence. Scholars, who have devoted much time and energy to his rock and pillar edicts, have paid little attention to these idols, though they are not a whit inferior to the former from the view-point of art. Those explorers and antiquarians who have paid a visit to them, have eloquently praised them.[57] As far as I know, there are seven such idols:-

| Place | Details |
| --- | --- |
| (1) Śravaṇ Belgol:— (Mysore State)[58] | Height 57 ft; in Hasan district in Mysore; time of setting 977 to 984 A. D. Mr. James has taken a likness of this and |

A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon by V. A. Smith, pp. 14. "For the safe custody of relics or to mark a spot associated with an event, sacred in Buddhist or Jaina legend. Until a few years ago, the stūpa was universally believed to be peculiarly Buddhist, but it is now matter of common knowledge that the ancient Jains built stūpas identical in form and accessories with those of the rival religion."

(57) F. n. no. 56 above.

(58) For similar opinions vide Epi. Ind. vol, VII, details about Śravaṇ Belgol.

No. 3 with an inkedd aper. Nobody is allowed to touch them. It is considered very sacred. Mr. James was given special permission. The script is Canarese, and the dialect is Tāmil.[59]

(2) Kārkul:— Height, 41 ft. 5 in.; in Canara district in Madras consecrated in 1432 A. D.; the words were photographed by a servant of Mr. James; the script is Canarese. weight 80 tons; seems to have been removed from its original place.[60]

(3) Tripur–Venur:— Height 35 ft; in the southern Canara district of Madras; consecrated in 1604 A. D.; the imprint of the inscription taken on an inked paper by Mr. James, together with that of the first; the script is Canarese, while the language is Sanskrit.

If it is proved that one of these three idols was erected in memory of a Tīrthankar, that Tīrthankar was Mahāvīr. The other two represent Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta. The sizes of these idols, in all probability represent the relative proportions of the bodies of the persons whom they actually represent. (Further research will prove this.).

(59) Epi. Ind. Vol. VII, pp. 108 —"Mr. Rice thinks that these inscriptions are undoubtedly of the period when that work was complete."

(60) It is to be understood that idols were prepared out during the time of Priyadarśin. The dates given here refer to their being consecrated only. Cf. f. n. no. 81. In course of time the idols might have fallen or might have been removed from their original places. (Same has been the case of the Alhābād–Kauśāmbī Pillar of north India). (Priyadarśin's humility is responsible for the absence of superscriptions upon them).

| | |
|---|---|
| (4) On the top of a summit of the Sātpuḍā ranges; near Jubblepore on the banks of the Narmada:- | Read pp. 208-9 for details about this idol. |
| (5) Near the town of Mahu:- | In the hilly region near Indore. Height 20 ft. |
| (6) Bhangar (Alvar State):- | 57 ft. in height.[61]; oldest among all the idols in Gwalior and south India. |
| (7) Gwaliar[62] | |

Both the pillars and idols erected by Priyadarśin are models of the finest art. The materials used in building them are so durable that the passage of 2200 years has made very little effect upon them. They are a glowing tribute both to the religious ardour of the emperor[63] and to the engineering skill, craftsmanship and the art of ancient India. No wonder it is, that he called artists from the remotest corners of his empire for this purpose. The European scholars, though they admit that most of the craftsmanship was Indian in origin, insist that artists from foreign countries of Europe had to be called for the original planning and conception. There is little truth in this. The Bhilsā Topes and the Sāñchī Stūpas were erected before the advent of foreigners in India or before any contact with them, except that one or two of them were appointed as governors of some provinces[64],

(61) His. of Ind. and Eastern Architecture:—(James Fergusson, London, 1910, vol. II, pp. 55). "Anterior to any of the colossi at Gwāliar or in the south of India." (It is said to be the most ancient from the view point of the inscription on it, not from the view point of its having been prepared. It must have been prepared out in very ancient time). Cf. f. n. no. 60 above.

(62) Ibid. Pp. 48 to 55 for details about nos. 6 and 7.

(63) Cf. his face in fig. 29 with this description.

(64) Tuṣuṣpa, the governor of Saurāṣṭra has been wrongly taken to have been a foreigner. He was of the Pallava branch of the Saṁvriji clan. The "Pallavas" are confused with "Palhavas," which were of the Persian origin. (Pp. 101, f. n. no. 107; f. n. 134 on pp. 28). So this argument has no truth in it.

because of their being related with the Indian emperor. Most of the European scholars have been bred with the rooted belief that, the West has been the initiator of anything new, in every branch of life and that the East has always sat at its feet and humbly imitated it.[65] True it is, that Greece was at the zenith of civilization and culture some 2500 years ago and that Egypt enjoyed the same pitch much earlier than that; but does this mean that there was nothing of the sort in India much earlier than that or during the same time? Certainly not. On the other hand, the time when Indian–Āryan–civilization and culture had reached their high water–mark, Europe was mostly semi–barbarous. What was the direction of the flow of civilization and culture? From East to West or from West to East?[66] All the religious books of India have unanimously voiced the fact that the world is eternal[67] —has neither a beginning nor an end–and that India has always been the cradle of civilization.[68] Seasons are regular here only and it is teeming with mines of all kinds. Only the old can be called gold.

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(65) M. S. I. pp. 484; Prof. Rhys David's opinion has been quoted there. We quote it below together with the comments of the author:—

"Prof. Rhys David holds the opinion that Indian civilization or religion never reached the shores of Greece. Aśoka only exaggerated things when he got this inscribed." (Why does the learned Professor not advance any proof in support of his statement?) The author says, (pp. 485):—"In those times India led the whole world from the view point of civilization and religion. Neither the impassable Himalayas, nor the intractable valleys of Pāmīr, nor the mountainous billows of the mighty main could prevent the powerful flow of civilization and religion in all corners of the world. India's contribution to the civilization of the whole world, not to talk of Greece only, is incomparable. Prof. Rhys David's statement is actuated by a false sense of racial superiority only." (Cf. pp. 306 f. n. no. 71).

(66) J. R. A. S. 1932, the statement made by Mr. P. R. C. supports this opinion.

(67) The Westerners believed that, life on the earth had not begun very long ago, though the Bible states the origin of the world to be very old. Science has proved that the world must have been millions of years old. Some excavations in Egypt have forced them to agree to this fact.

(68) Details about this are given in the first 3 chapters of vol. I.

There being no superscription on the idols, it is doubtful who raised them:[69]. We know, however, that it was Priyadarśin who got the Rock-edicts and the Pillar-edicts erected. The tact, the craftsmanship and the engineering skill that we find in the edicts, we also find in these idols. This means that they were erected by the same person, namely, Priyadarśin. All of them alike have successfully withstood all the onslaughts of all the inclemencies of weather.

Neither the pillars nor the idols have been built by laying brick upon brick or slab upon slab. They seem to have been made out of one single unbroken piece of material. This is what has baffled the best engineers and craftsman of to-day. What baffles them still more is, the engineering skill with the help of which such gigantic and weighty pillars and idols-weighing several tons-could have been lifted and perched on the hill-tops and at such other heights. We have to admit that, in India of those times, machinery was in full force and that there were very clever mechanics. Even at present the removal of an object of similar dimensions and weight costs a considerable amount of labour and money. Some time age[70], an instance of this kind occurred in London. Below is given an extract froma newspaper[71], about it:-

" The largest stone slab in the world;
Length 68 ft.; weight 98 tons:—

A new hotel is being built near Marble Arch. The above mentioned slab took four hours to be brought over there from a distance of 2 miles.

Its length is 68 ft. and its weight is 98 tons. Its length together with that of the lorry in which it was brought was 107 ft; and its weight, with that of the lorry was 164 tons.

(69) Some are of the opinion that the Śravaṇa Belgola idol was carved out in the 9th or the 10th century B. C. This is not true. Chāmuṇḍarai only consecrated it at that time; while it had been lying there from very ancient times. No proofs, also, are available to the effect that any craftsman of that time carved out another similar idol.

(70) These pages were written in 1931; the original book was compiled in 1929; while the date of the publication is 1939.

(71) "The Bombay Samāchār," Dt. 20-10-31, Tuesday, pp. 1.

It was brought by a separate route; several walls on the way had to be razed to the ground. A large number of workers was employed for the purpose; it took them 24 hours to carry it over. It cost £ 20000 to be brought from the Middle–borough where it was made."

(Imagine the labour and the money required in raising idols much heavier than this to the tops of hills[72]; though here it was a question of removing the stone slab from only one level–space to another ).

We can now confidently assert that Priyadarśin got Rock–edicts, Pillar–edicts, Stūpas and idols erected for the propagation and the perpetuation of his faith. We know that Chandragupta and his preceptor Bhadrabāhu spent the last years of their lives at Śravaṇ Belgola. Hence we can come to the conclusion that the giant idols at the place are connected with them. The two idols which are near each other, probably, represnt Chandragupta and Bhadrabāhu. At one of the places Bhadrabāhu may have died, and at the other Chandragupta may have died ( Nos. 1 and 2 on P. 334–5 ). Idols Nos. 4 and 5 may represent the occasion of the ordination of Chandragupta by his preceptor. Be that as it may, we can now reasonably say that these idols[73] have connection with the founder of the Maurya dynasty and his preceptor.

One conjecture in connection with Śuklatīrtha and Chāṇakya has already been stated. If that is proved as an established fact, we can safely conclude that Priyadarśin erected rock–edicts in memory of those members of the royal family, who had not renounced the world and had erected idols in memory of those, who had renounced the world and had been ordinated.

Many scholars are of the opinion that India is indebted to Greece for all her fine arts like painting, sculpture etc. and that everything refined or civilized here is of the Hellenic origin.

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(72) Think of the engineering skill, labour and money required in raising such gigantic idols on hill–tops at Śravaṇa Belgol. Read the paragraph above for the craft required in preparing and raising huge pillars also. Engineering must have been developed to a great extent in those times.

(73) Cf. pp. 192, f. n, no. 146 and pp. 206 & seq.

We have already discussed this question at some length on pp. 336 to 338.

The foreigners came into contact with India for the first time,[74] according to their own opinion, during the rule of Chandragupta; while according to our opinion, during the rule of Aśoka. The question of the identification of Sandrecottus with Chandragupta or with Aśoka, though a vital one from many other points of view, does not concern us here, because the interval between the time of these two is not more than 75 years. We have also proved that Alexander's power over a portion of India lasted only for 20 years[75]. Is it reasonable to suppose that India borrowed everything in point of fine arts from the Greeks during this short interval? Again, only some border territory of India came into contact with the Greeks, while practically the whole of India had no idea of what kind of people the Greeks were and what the state of their civilization and culture was?

**The flow of civilization.**

We have explored the possibilites of the Greek civilization being adopted in India. Let us now look to the other side of the question. It has been proved that merchants of India used to go to foreign countries[76] for the trade purposes, used to stay there for long intervals of time, and then returned to India. This had been going on long since.[77] They visited almost all the foreign countries within their ken[78], details about which we shall give later on.

If we try to find out the reasons of the rooted belief of the modern scholars about the flow of civilization from East to West

(74) The Persian civilization resembles in more ways than one the Indian civilization; because Persia was inhabited by the Āryans in ancient times. Again, Persia is a part of Asia and so its customs and manners differed from those of Europe.

(75) Pp. 211 to 221.

(76) Vol. I, pp. 19-20 and f. n. thereof.

(77) In Egypt many things have been unearthed, which resemble the Indian ones; this is due to the visits of those people to that country in ancient times.

(78) Vol. III, chap. on foreigners.

or from West to East, we shall come upon two main ones. Most of the modern scholars are educated according to the western system which was introduced a century ago by the British in India. Indians were bred and educated in this environment by the western scholars, who wanted to impress upon the young minds of India that everything fine or civilized here had its origin in Greece, the cradle of European civilization. It was this idea that provoked the learned Professor Rhys David to make the statement which we have already quoted[79], though he has not tried to substantiate his observation by forwarding any evidence. Fortunately the tide has begun to turn the other way and scholars have begun to realize the "glory of Ind" that was some two or three thousand years ago. We have quoted below a passage in support of this[80]:—"His (Alexander's) expedition was an organized one and had historians, geographers, scientists, merchants[81] etc. One object of Alexander's conquest was to spread Greek civilization abroad; but we regret to see that he himself and his men were orientalized[82] in Persia[83]. No Indian work (Hindu, Buddhist or Jain) makes the least mention of Alexander[84]. The Indians probably regarded Alexander as a mighty robber and his expedition and conquests as a political hurricane.[85] India was

(79) The principal of Kangaḍi Gurukul, Satyabhūsaṇ Vidyālankār, had added his own comments over this, which we have quoted above.

(80) H. H. pp. 510.

(81) Such people do not form part of an army generally. So it is supposed that these invasions had a motive behind them, other than conquering the territories.

(82) He was himself orientalized when he entered Persia. The civilization of Persia resembled (as we have already stated), the civilization of India. So Alexander was already more or less Indianized by the time he put his foot on the Indian soil. (Cf. f. n. no. 74). This itself excludes the possibility of India coming under the influence of the Greek civilization.

(83) Ibid. Pp. 512.

(84) This means that none attached any political significance to these invasions.

(85) Compare these words with the extract from Mr. Crindle quoted on pp. 212 referring to the behaviour of Alexander towards Aśoka; the reader will be convinced that the statement of the author of H. H. and the views of the Greek historians convey the same sense.

not changed, India was not hellenized.[86]" Another passage is quoted below:—[87] " In those times India led the whole world from the view point of civilization and religion. Neither the impassable Himalayas nor the intractable valley of Pāmir, nor the mountainous billows of the mighty main ever deterred the powerful flow of civilization and religion in all the corners of the world. India's contribution to the civilization of the whole world, not to talk of Greece only, is incomparable."

The reader now will judge for himself, which continent is indebted to which, for civilization and religion.

His ardent desire for public welfare and for religious propaganda is writ large on his edicts and topes and idols described in the foregoing pages. One more piece of work remains to be mentioned and that is the Sudarśan lake. Though, now in a ruined condition yet the inscription upon it, is eloquent of the contribution of Priyadarśin to its upkeep. It has been proved on the authority of rock-edicts that the lake was at first dug at the then-existing foot of the Girnār by Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, in order to facilitate water-supply to Jaina pilgrims visiting the holy mount. (P. 179). Some repairs were made upon it during the time of Aśoka. Then the lake was almost destroyed by gale and storm and other vagaries of weather. Then it was repaired by Kṣatrap Rudra-dāman, according to the opinion of some scholars. I have proved that the credit of these reparations goes to Priyadarśin. For further details, I refer the readers to Appendix B. He had dug numerous wells and lakes for proper supply of water to his people. At present we have no means to prove their existence. Some of the pieces of evidence may yet be unearthed; others may have been irrevocably destroyed.

**The Sudarśan lake**

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(86) In reality, struck with the Indian arts and civilization, the Greeks adopted as much as they could grasp and carried it over to Greece. It was with a view to study Indian art that the Greek sculptors came to India fifty years later, and having studied all the models, they returned to their own country, full of admiration for the Indian art.

(87) M. S. I. pp. 485; f. n. no. 78 above and the matter connected with it.

Every sane reader who has gone through these pages will certainly form a very high opinion of Priyadarśin, both as a ruler and as a man. Scholars have tried to compare him with various rulers, Indian as well as foreign. Some of the rulers with whom he is compared are:—Charles the Great, Charlemagne; Constantine; Napoleon Bonaparte, Caesor the Great, Alexander the Great, Marcus Aurelius and last but not the least, Akbar. Though individually taken, any one of them might stand close to Priyadarśin in any single quality of mind or character, yet none of them holds a candle with him in the aggregate. To institute a comparison between Priyadarśin and any one of them is as ludicrous as the story of "six blind men of Indostan" who went to see an elephant and then gave their individual ideas of what an elephant was like. Below is given an extract which will give the reader an idea about Priyadarśin's character and achievements.[88]

**Comparison with other rulers**

"Once Mr. H. G. Wells was asked the question as to who were the six greatest men of the world. He replied that they were, Jesus, Buddha, Aśoka, (whom we have proved to have been Priyadarśin), Aristotle, Bacon and Lincoln. Of all the powerful emperors like Alexander, Caesor, Charles and others[89], he gave the palm only to Aśoka. (The reason is stated on P. 612). He had shaken off territorial ambitions and had successfully devoted himself to the noble task of religious propagation (P. 613). All other kings in his time had no ambition beyond the expansion of their territories. They never thought of the amelioration of their subjects. Under such circumstances he worked, undaunted by difficulties, for the perpetuation of his faith; and the wonderful thing about it is that he achieved this task without shedding a drop of blood and with love and sympathy (P. 613). Countless battles have been recorded on the pages of history,—battles which were fought

(88) M. S. I. pp. 610.

(89) Of these six, Jesus and Buddha are religious prophets; Aristotle and Bacon are philosophers and writers; Lincoln was the president of a republic, i. e. not an emperor; so among the six greatest men of the world, according to Mr. Wells, the emperor was only one.

for the acquisition of territories; but there has been no emperor in the history of the world, who achieved such unique and true victory; and who established an empire of love and religion. He did things, even to-day believed to be impracticable and ideal (P. 614). He never persecuted those who followed another religion, though he could have oppressed them if he wanted to do so (P. 617). His private life also was spotless and ideal. He never indulged himself in luxuries or amours like other emperors (P. 619). Looking to all his attainments, any one who tries to find out any other person in history, who can stand comparison with him, shall meet with disappointment only. Constantine was a cunning and confirmed rogue. He had no religious ideal in his life. His forsightedness was the only redeeming feature of his otherwise black character. No doubt he extended his empire and tried to spread Christianity every where. But we should remember that, patronized by the state, Christianity expanded in bulk-mere numbers and declined in spirit. Churches began to be hoarding places of riches and luxury; and restraint, sacrifice and other ideals began to evaporate. The private life of Constantine offers a sad contrast to that of Aśoka. Constantine can not stand even a remote comparison with him. To compare the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius with Aśoka is to compare a lamp with the sun. ( In the same way, Aśoka, has been proved by the writers to have been head and shoulders above Alexander, Caesar, Akbar and others ( Chap. 24, P. 610 to 624 should be gone through by all the readers ). In short, in the realms of history, Aśoka shines like a sun. Then is quoted a passage from Wells " Outlines of History " P. 212, which is also quoted by Dr. D. R. Bhandarker in his " Aśoka, P. 225:— " Aśoka has been compared by various scholars with Roman emperor Constantine the Great, with Marcus Aurelius, (A. D. 121 to 180), with king Alfred, Charlemagne, Omer Khaliff and others. Mr. Bhandarker has compared him with Akbar the Great; while some European scholars have put him in the same scales with Caesar and Napoleon ".

Having quoted the foregoing passage, Āchārya Vidyābhuṣaṇ Alaṅkārji, has quoted another passage by Mr. Wells, from the

Strand Magazine, Sept. 1922 P. 216, in his book P. 610:— "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graces and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Aśoka shines and shines almost alone, a star. From the Volgā to Jāpān, his name is still honoured. China, Tibet and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory to-day than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne". I strongly recommened my readers to go through pp. 610 to 624 of Āchārya Vidyābhuṣaṇ's book.

Scholars have instituted comparisons between Priyadarśin and various other emperors, Indian as well as foreign. I am inclined to compare him with one, who preceded him on the throne of Magadh, one or two centuries ago. This emperor is none other than Śreṇik, the founder of the guilds. There had been several other emperors, who succeeded him (Khārvel and others) and who can also hold a candle with him. We have selected Śreṇik because his account has already been given.

**One more comparison**

Though marvels of to-day are the common-places of to-morrow, it is a well-known fact that the pioneer in every branch of life has to work against practically insurmountable odds. Again, history always records only the achievements and not the efforts of a person, though the magnitude of the latter may far exceed that of the former. Looking from this point of view, Śreṇik carries the palm because, while he had to classify society into various guilds–an original palm–, Priyadarśin had nothing to do of that kind. But, if we look at the question from the view point of which of the two took measures conducive to the general welfare of the society, the laurels will go to Priyadarśin. Again Śreṇik was aided by an able minister like Abhayakumār, while Priyadarśin had not this advantage.

Both achieved the task they had begun.

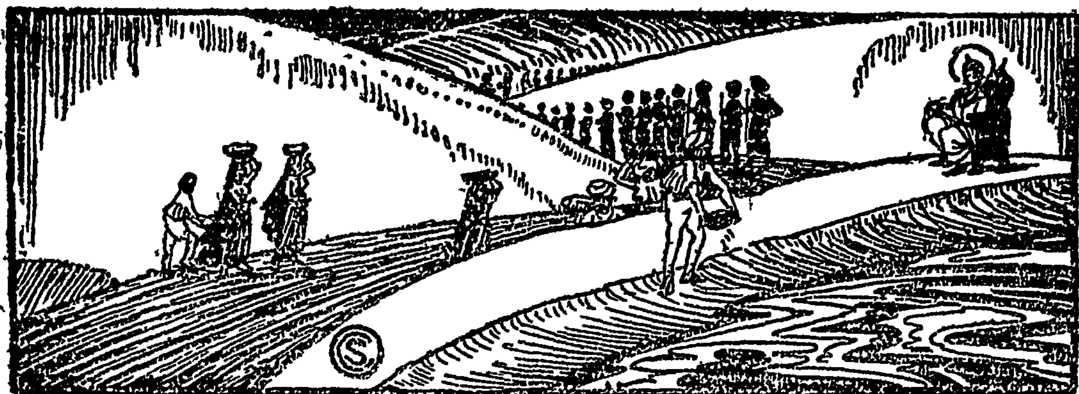
Both of them worked for the welfare of their subjects, though in different ways. Śreṇik worked from the worldly point of view, while Priyadarśin from the spiritual point of view. But a worker

in the spiritual field has to keep in view, social and worldly happiness of the people also. Thus the achievement of Priyadarśin was more solid than that of Śreṇik. On the other hand, the social structure raised by Śreṇik lasts even to-day, the way of life propounded by Priyadarśin is not extant; thus showing, the most people in the world have their eyes fixed on the ground.

Śreṇik did not direct his attention to religious propaganda. Priyadarśin left no stone unturned for it; as to general welfare he rested content with dining places, alms-houses, wells, recreation grounds etc.

Both were powerful and intellectual. Both lived for nearly 67 years, and the reign of both lasted for nearly 52-54 years, and had happy family lives. The extent of the kingdom of Śreṇik was not as wide as that of Priyadarśin. This does not mean that the former was less valorous than the latter. In his times, kings paid little attention to the expansion of their empires. During the time of Śreṇik, people were devoted to religion, so he worked for their social welfare. During the time of Priyadarśin, people had drifted away from the religion and had enmeshed themselves into the tangle of various sects; so he took up the task of uniting them under the banner of true religion.

Thus, though their methods of work were different and they worked for apparently different purposes, yet both had the same end in view-the well-being of their subject and their amelioration in all possible ways. In short, both of them tower high over any other emperor, Indian or foreign.



# Chapter V

Synopsis:—

*Appendix A:—Dharmāśoka; scholars have fixed up Kālāśoka as the name of the 2nd Nand king; and Chaṇḍāśoka first and then Dharmāśoka as the name of Aśoka—Both the hypotheses are wrong and misleading—Dharmāśoka was the name of a different individual altogether—though a scion of the Mauryan dynasty, he was the ruler of Kāśmir and was a Jain—all this has been proved on the authority of books like Rājataraṅgiṇi.*

*Appendix B:—Sudarśan Lake—it is commonly believed that it was repaired by Ksatrapa Rudradāman for political purposes—evidence against this false belief.*

*Appendix C:—Prince Daśarath and prince Śāliśuk—They were contemporaries of Aśoka and Priyadarśin and were Mauryan princes—new light upon them.*

*Appendix D:—Jālauk, the king of Kāśmir; not mentioned in any book on Indian history; he was a Mauryan prince; details about him.*

# Appendix A

In the account of Nand II, I have stated that Dharmāśoka was the name of this king and of nobody else. Later researches have, however, made me change my opinion and come to the conclusion that this title belonged to nobody else but Priyadarśin and that Jālauk of Kāśmir was none other than his son.

**Dharmāśoka**

The author of Rājataraṅgiṇi has made several contradictory statements. Upto the first three Taraṅgas,[1] i. e. upto the origin of the Karkoṭaka dynasty, the dates seem to have been fixed according to the Kali era. These dates are not very trustworthy. But the details given by him about the king deserve notice.

The word Dharmāśoka makes one think of Aśoka. In ancient Indian history two kings bore this name:—Nand II and Aśoka, the Mauryan emperor. At first I held the opinion that the title belonged to Nand II, because it has been stated that the founder of Dharmāśoka's dynasty was Gonand[2], from whose name the dynasty probably derived its name. When we are, however, confronted with the fact, that his son Jālauk was a mighty king, we have to give up this theory, because of the seven sons of Nand II, six were hopless and only nominal kings. Then the thought struck my mind that Jālauk was probably Nand IX, because he was also the son–seventh–of Nand II; and that the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi might have omitted the names of six predecessors, because they were unimportant from the historical point of view. But we know that the seat of the throne of Nand IX was Magadh; while Jālauk has been described as conquering countries, one by one, from north to south upto Kānyakubja. Had he been

(1) K. Chr. Ch. Stein, vol. I. pp. 134; pariśiṣṭa I:—"There Dharmāśoka's account is given in the first Taraṅg. Aśoka has been stated as the 48th king, the total number of kings whose accounts are given, is 52. Their time has been stated to have been L. S. 628 to 1894=K. E. 653 to 1919; turning them to the Christian Era, we would have B. C. 2552 to 1286, because K. E. 1= B. C. 3201; if this is true, Aśoka lived nearly in the 15th century B. C.

(2) Ibid; at the top of the chronological list is written "Gonand I."

the same as Nand IX, he would have been described as extending his empire from east to west. Hence, I had to do away with the theory of identifying Dharmāśoka with Nand II and of Jālauk with Nand IX.

Now I turned to explore the possibilities of identifying Dharmāśoka with the Mauryan emperor Aśoka. No doubt the emperor, who fought several successful battles against powerful foreign adversary like Seleucus Necator and ultimately forced him to sign a humiliating peace treaty, must have easily conquered a small country like Kāśmir. On the other hand, no historical evidence is forthcoming to prove that he had ever invaded and conquered Kāśmir. Again, his son Jālauk cannot, then be described as conquering territories one by one, eastwards from Kāśmir, because he was already the emperor of India. (Again, Aśoka was succeeded by his grandson, and not by his son; but we might take it as a mistake of the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi ). Hence again, the question of Jālauk obstructed the path of coming to a final conclusion; and further when I came to verse 102, all the lingerings in favour of the theory had to be shaken off. It is stated therein:—" This king (Aśoka) who had freed himself from sins and had embraced the doctrine of Jina[4], covered Śuksaletra and Vitastara with numerous Stūpas ". It is a well-known fact that Aśoka had converted himself to Buddhism even before he came to the throne;[5] and that he was a devoted follower of that faith throughout his life. So he must not have built the Jaina Stūpas[6]. The words "had embraced the doctrine of Jina ", guided me to the conclusion that the king in question, must have been first a non-Jaina and then must have accepted the faith. There was one such emperor and that was Priyadarśin.

(1) Mr. Thomas' assertion that the king of Kāśmir was a Jain is applicable to Priyadarśin only.

(3) Ibid : Taraṅg I, pp. 114, verse 117.

(4) So the king of Kāśmir, Dharmāśoka by name, was a Jain. Pp. 271, f. n. no. 87.

(5) Pp. 241–5 above.

(6) This proves that the Stūpas in Kāśmir are connected with Jainism; (and not with Buddhism as many scholars believe).

(2) Samprati came into close touch with Jainism during the third year of his reign and accepted it as his faith. Then he went on a pilgrimage to Jaina holy places; during the 8th year of his reign, after his conquest of Kaliṅg, he took the eight vows of a Śrāvak. All these details agree with the sentence above:—"had embraced the doctrine of Jina".

(3) This king is described as "Pious"[7]; Aśoka, on the other hand, had not only slain his brothers[8] but conducted the institution of "Narkālaya"[9] upto the 18th year of his rule when he convened the third Buddhist conference. Hence, he has been appropriately given the name, "Chaṇḍāśoka" "Aśoka the Fierce." Dr. Bhandarkar has conjectured that Aśoka had turned a new leaf in his life after his conversion to Buddhism; but this is no more than a conjecture, as it is not substantiated with evidence. So far as I know, in no Buddhist book is Aśoka called "Dharmāśoka"[10]; (see No. 4 below). Again, Aśoka had accepted Buddhism even before his accession to the throne[11] and had conducted an institution like "Narkālaya" for 18 years—facts which ill agree with Dr. Bhandarkar's conjecture.

(4) The word Dharmāśoka is mentioned in Tibetan books only; and this Dharmāśoka's reign has been stated to have lasted for 54 years. We know that it was only Priyadarśin who invaded and conquered Tibet and that his reign did last for 54 years. Aśoka, on the other hand, had not conquered even Kāśmir, not to talk of Tibet; and his reign lasted for only 41 years.

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(7) Rājataraṅgiṇi, Taraṅg I, pp. 20, verse 107.

(8) Modern writers prove this to be false on the authority of the rock-edicts; but the rock-edicts, as we have shown, have no connection with Aśoka. (Pp. 228, f. n. nos. 12 & 13).

(9) Pp. 240 to 244 and f. nos. connected with them.

(10) "Many Buddhist works represent him Kālāśoka (Black Aśoka) and as Dharmāśoka or Pious Aśoka after his conversion to Buddhism." We have shown above that the latter half of the sentence is mere a conjecture of the author. The Buddhist books have described him as "Chaṇḍāśoka" upto the 17th year of his rule, while he accepted Buddhism long before that.

(11) Pp. 240 and f. n. no. 95 on pp. 245.

(5) The atrocities perpetrated by Aśoka have rightly earned for him the name "Chaṇḍāśoka"; while "Dharmāśoka" is the aptest title for Priyadarśin, looking to his achievements. The author of Taraṅgiṇi describes the king as one, " who had renounced the killing of living beings"[12]; this description fully agrees with the life of Priyadarśin (R. E. I; his vow after his conquest of Kaliṅg).

(6) His son Jalāuk, a valorous king, conquered vast territories to the east of Kāśmir and had extended his kingdom upto Kanoj.[13] This proves that the Mauryan power had begun to decline after Priyadarśin's death and that Vrṣasen, who succeeded him, could not manage matters. The governors appointed by Priyadarśin must have begun to break their allegiance to the paramount power and assert their independence. Jālauk was one of them; and not satisfied with Kāśmir only, he began to expand his territory eastwards and conquered the region about Kanoj during the 26th year of his reign[14] (According to my calculations Jālauk's rule lasted from B. C. 236 to 190=46 years. A. M. 290 to 336.[15])

Thus we come to the following conclusions:—

(1) Kālāśoka:–This title does not belong to Nand II. (I had ascribed the name to him because he had married a Śudra girl; but such interclass marriages were common in those times; and so the Brāhmins must not have given him the name on that account). The name was given to his son, Nand IX, because of his ill-treatment of the Brāhmins, viz, the insult of Chāṇakya, the death of Śakḍāl, etc. That is why the date of this king has been calculated in the Purāṇas according to the Kali era instead that of Udhisthir.

(12) First Taraṅg, verse no. 133. The details given in it though ascribed to Jālauk, are really about Priyadarśin. (Iśvarādevī has been described as the wife of Jālauk, though, in all probability, she was his mother). The Rājataraṅgiṇi contains several such contradictory statements. On the other hand, even if we take it for granted that the vow of non–violence was taken by Jālauk, there is nothing inappropriate about it; he was also a Jain like his father Samprati.

(13) Rājataraṅgiṇi, first Taraṅg, verse 127; M. S. I. pp. 643 and 654.

(14) M. S. I. pp. 655.

(15) See Appendix D.

(2) Chaṇḍāśoka—This title belongs to Aśoka.

(3) Dharmaśoka—The title belongs to Priyadarśin[16], the grandson of Aśoka.

( Probably there were only two kings, who bore the name Aśoka,-Aśoka and Priyadarśin. No historian has affirmed that either Nand IX ever bore the name "Aśoka". Indeed the name dates from emperor Aśoka only. Hence, I come to the conclusion that "Chaṇḍāśoka" was the title of Aśoka and that "Dharmāśoka" was that of Priyadarśin. "Kalāśoka" seems to have been the interpolation or invention of some wiseacre of a historian.

## Appendix B

The Sudarśan Lake Inscription[17] has been translated in many books. One of them is:—"Bhāvanagar State Inscriptions, Saṁskṛt and Prākṛt," by Peterson. Another is "Epigraphica Indica," vol. III, pp. 32 and further. Prof. Peterson states that the lake was dug by Viṣṇugupta during the time of emperor Chandragupta. Its banks were repaired by an officer named Tupasa or Tuṣuspa during the time of Aśoka; it was repaired again during the time of the person-meaning Priyadarśin. The author of Epigraphica Indica, on the other hand, has given all the credit to Kstrapa Rudradāman. I agree with the interpretation of Dr. Peterson and differ from that of Epi. Ind. for the following reasons:—

**Sudarśan Lake**

(1) There is a blank space between "vistṛta" and "ṇā āgarbhāt prabhṛtya avihita samudita rājalakṣmī" in line no. 9. The meaning of the line is:—"From the time he entered into the phœtus of his mother, the kingdom had steadily expanded and prospered." History tells that many of the countries conquered

(16) G. V. S. Aśoka Charitra, pp. 20 : "Khārvel's activities were like those of Priyadarśin." This means that both of them followed the same faith. (See Hāthīgumfā Inscriptions). It has been proved that Khārvel was a Jain. So Priyadarśin was also a Jain. Pp. 304.

(17) The fact that it has been carved out on the very boulder of the Girnār rock-edict of Emp. Priyadarśin throws ample light on the subject.

by Chaṣṭhaṇ, were lost by Jayadāman, the father of Rudradāman[17]. Hence the above description cannot be applied to him. Even if we suppose that at the time of his birth, the kingdom was progressing under Chaṣṭhaṇ, the subsequent downfall agree ill with the "steady advance." The description, on the other hand, quite agrees with the childhood of Samprati.

Again, line no. 8 contains the mention of "Chandragupta" and of Aśoka. It is natural that the blank space must have contained the name "Priyadarśin," who was the next in the order of succession. Or, the blank space may be due to the humility of Priyadarśiṇ. ( "Some corrections" at the end of the book; no. 3). The Maski rock-edict, though erected by Priyadarśin, does not contain his name, but has got a blank space. This was because Priyadarśin did not like to get his name superscribed upon such edicts or inscriptions as long as Aśoka was alive, out of respect for him. In the same way he might have kept a blank space in Sudarśan Lake Inscription, because Aśoka was alive at that time.

(2) The same line (9th) states:—"He has taken a vow that except in battles[19], no human being should be killed by him *," This also agrees more with Priyadarśin than with Rudradāman. Rock-edict no. 8 tells us that he had taken such a vow after his fight with Āndhra king. The accounts of the life of Rudradāman contain no mention of any such vow. Moreover, he came of an uncivilized tribe[20], which had migrated to India only a few years ago.

(3) It has been further stated in the inscription:—"He conquered by the prowess of his arms, eastern and western

(18) J. B. B. R. A. S. New edi. vol. III, pp. 73 and further.

(19) He had taken this vow in order to avoid battles as far as possible in future. He took the eight vows after his conquest of Kaling (See R. E.).

He cannot be said to have broken his vow in his conquests of Tibeṭ and Khoṭān and others.

* See the R. E.

(20) They had degenerated into such condition about the time with which we are concerned. In ancient times they were Jains (see their coins) and were of the Āryan origin. They perpetrated cruelties for the sake of conquering territories; but they were not barbarous from the first.

Ākārāvanti[21], Anūpadeśa[22], Ānarta[23], Surāṣṭra, Śvabhra[24], Meru, Cutcha, Sindhu-sauvīr[25], Kukkur[26], Aparānta, Niṣāda[27] and other countries[28].

Even if we take it for granted that Rudradāman had conquered many countries (though our sole piece of evidence for this is the inscription in question), yet it is certain that he never became master of such a vast territory as stated above. Some of the northern countries, which were under his power, he directly inherited from his grandfather, i. e. had not conquered by the prowess of his arms. The conquest tour of Samprati, on the other hand, included the countries enumerated above[29].

(4) The inscription contains the mention of Śāliśuk ("Buddhi-prakāśa" pp. 76, 1936, quotation from Varāha-saṁhihā, Yugapurāṇ,

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(21) These divisions have political significance only. We see many such divisions to-day. Etymologically it means Ākar=a mine, and Avanti=territory around Ujjain.

(22) The region south of Berar. (R. A. S. B. vol. VII, pp. 341).

(23) It must have been a border province of the Punjāb, as it is mentioned with the provinces like Kamboj, Sindh and Yavana districts. (R. A. S. B. vol. VII, pp. 351, and A. R. vol. VII, pp. 339).

Ānarta has been stated to have another name, namely, Vaḍanagar in "Śatruñjaya Prakāśa" (published in Bhāvanagar, 1929, pp. I. f. n. no. 2). Vaḍanagar is at present the name of a town in north Gujarāt. Thus Ānarta means Gujarāt and a portion of north Mālavā (A. G. I. by Nandalāl De). This is more probable than the first, because it is based on the evidence of rock-edicts.

For the situation of Ānarta vide "Buddhiprakāśa," no. I, 1934, G. V. S. the article is written by me.

(24) The region about the Sābaramatī. Śvabhra is one of the names of Sābaramatī.

(25) The region N. E. of Cutch, N. W. and W. of Rajaputānā.

(26) The region about Benares. (J. R. A. S. vol. VII, pp. 341 & its footnotes).

(27) It is said that the Cutchhavāh kṣatriyas of Rajaputānā belonged to Amba. The Ambaras are considered to be a branch of the kṣatriyas residing in Niṣad (Nirvur). Nala, the husband of Damayantī, belonged to this clan. (Toḍ Rājasthān, vol. I. pp. 149). According to some, this country consisted of Gwāliar and Jhānsī states.

(28) We have no other piece of evidence about the extent of the territory of Rudradāman.

(29) Pp. 271 above and further.

by Keśavalāl Harṣa Dhruv). Śāliśuk was a brother of Priyadarśin. He had no connection with Rudradāman.

(5) The inscription has two divisions. Both the divisions have different scripts. The first of them was inscribed by Śāliśuk (no. 4 above) and the second seems to have been inscribed by Rudradāman.

Details about coins No. 23–24 will show that they do not belong to Ksatrapa kings and that having taken them to belong to these kings, scholars have arrived at wrong conclusions about their dates. The belief that the inscription is connected with Rudradāman may have been due to this.

F N. no. 33 will show that the first part of the inscription is connected with Priyadarśin. Again, we have already stated that Priyadarśin used to visit Girnār every year with Jaina Saṅgha.[30] He might have found that, or the people must have brought it to his notice, that the lake was in need of repairs. He was always eager to do anything for the general welfare of his subjects[31] and he must have ordered the reparations. There was an interval of three hundred years between Priyadarśin and Rudradāman;[32] and the latter may have included his name with the list of Maurya kings with a view to show that he was as powerful as any of them.[33]

In short, the blank space must have either contained the name of Priyadarśin at first and the name may have been effaced in course of time; or the space may have been kept blank by Priyadarśin himself for reasons already stated above. The sentences[34] quoted above in Nos. 1, 2, and 3, agree with Priyadarśin only and with none other.

(30) R. E. no. 8.

(31) Pp. 305 to 312 above. (Pariśiṣṭhaparva, Trans. published from Bhāvanagar, pp. 210 to 218).

(32) Samprati died in A. M. 290; Rudradāman lived in 606 A. M.

(33) Had the lake been dug at his own instance, he would have got a separate inscription there, just as did Samudragupta. He would not have merely appended his name to the names of the Mauryan emperors.

(34) Cf. the countries conquered by Priyadarśin. (Pp. 270 to 277 above). R. E. no. 2; Bh. A. pp. 156, 148, I. A. 1911, pp. 11.

# Appendix C

The Nāgārjuna cave inscription tells us that Daśarath, of his own accord, performed charities during the 27th year of his reign. This means that Daśarath was an independent king and that he ruled for at least 27 years.

**Daśarath and Śāliśuk**

Some details have already been given P. 265 to 268 He was a grandson of Aśoka, who had appointed him as his successor to the empire, because his eldest son Kuṇāl had become blind, because Kuṇāl had no son, and because the other son of Aśoka, Mahendra by name, had entered the Buddhist holy orders.

What was Daśarath's father's name ? Aśoka had a younger brother named Tiṣya who had been sent to Ujjaini to look after Prince Kuṇāl who was sent away from the capital because of the fear of the mean tricks of Tisyarakṣitā. We had first supposed his son to be Daśarath. Had it beeen so, however, Aśoka would not have called him his grandson but his nephew and would not have, probably, appointed him heir to his throne.

We know that Kuṇāl was born at Vidiśa, of the daughter of a Vaiśya merchant; Aśoka had married her while he was the governor there. Two years later, Mahendra was born of Tisyarakṣita. When Aśoka came to Pāṭliputra, he brought all the members of the family with him except, the mother of Kuṇāl, because she was far advanced in pregnancy. She must have given birth, thus, to another son in about A. M. 200=B. C. 327. She must have died soon after; Tiṣyarakṣitā was raised to the position of queen-consort after her death.

This prince was junior to Mahendra by 4½ years (Mahendra was born in 332 B. C.), and to Kuṇāl by 7 years (Kuṇāl was born in B. C. 335). Kuṇāl became blind at the age of thirteen, and was married after he lost his eyes. Samprati was born in A. M. 223=B. C. 304. At this time Kuṇāl's age was 32. This means that either he had no issue for the first 18 years of his married life, or if he had, the child must have died, or he must

(1) Cp. 316 f. n. no. 9, for his relationship with Aśoka.

have had daughters. Hence Aśoka had to appoint some one as his successor, so that after his death there may be no quarrels for the throne. Now the younger brother of Kuṇāl may have been married at the age of nearly 14, i. e. in B. C. 314, and may have had a son by, say B. C. 312, i. e. 8 years before the birth of Samprati. This son may have been Daśarath and as he was the next, only to the son of Kuṇāl, he may have been appointed as successor by Aśoka. After the birth of Samprati, the right heir, he may have been appointed as independent ruler–governor of Magadh. That is why, we have the words "regnal years" in the inscriptions[2].

Thus in B. C. 304[3] he ascended the throne of Magadh and ruled upto at least 27 years, i. e. 277 B. C.[4]. It is said that near the mouth of the Ganges in Bengal, in the city of Tāmralipti, Aśoka (i e. Priyadarśin) had got a pillar–edict erected. He could have done this only when that territory came under his power. It is stated in the Vāyupurān that Samprati transferred his brother Śāliśuk from Saurāṣtra to the governorship of Magadh[5]. Samprati's reign lasted for 54 years and upto 26th year Daśarath was alive.

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(2) Thus Daśarath was the first cousin of Priyadarśin. Again, he was an independent king. Due to these two reasons, the adjective "Bandhupālit," which has been appended to the name of Daśarath by Vidyābhūṣaṇaji (pp. 134–5), on the authority of the Purāṇas, is inappropriate. The adjective properly belongs to Śāliśuk, because he was thus protected and appointed governor by Priyadarśin.

(3) Samprati was born in B. C. 304=A. M. 223; he was proclaimed heir-apparent, ten months after his birth. His coronation ceremony was performed when he was 14, in B. C. 290=B. C. 237. For these fourteen years, Aśoka conducted the administration as his regent. During this period neither Priyadarśin nor Daśarath was appointed.

(4) Mr. Dhruv has made the statement on the authority of Vāyupurāṇ and Yugapurāṇ. "Buddhiprakāśa," vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 88 to 94. Both Samprati and Daśarath ascended the throne in the same year; Daśarath died first. For details cf f. n. no. 9 below.

(5) Vide "Buddhiprakāśa," vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 89. The statement is made on the authority of Vāyupurān Śāliśuk can be called "Bandhupālit" due to many reasons. (F. n. no. 2 above), and the chronological list on pp. 144),

Hence Śāśliśuk's transfer must have been effected after that and pillar-edict must have been erected sometime during his regime. Though different scholars hold different opinions about the date of the pillar-edict in question, yet they all agree in the fact that it was not erected before 26th year of his reign and not after 33rd year. The pillar-edict thus may have been erected any time within this limit of seven years

When, after the death of Priyadarśin, the Mauryan empire began to fall to pieces, Śāliśuk must have broken his allegiance to the paramount power and must have declared himself independent. His descendants must have continued to rule over the province for a long time; we are not concerned here with the question, as to for how many years the rule of his dynasty lasted. It is however well-known that the Mauryan dynasty was ruling over the province in 8th century A. D. In the 7th century A. D. a Jaina king named Śaśāṅka (the Mauryas were Jains) had killed Grhavarman, the brothdr-in-law of Emperor Harṣa of Kanoj. King Āmra (Indrāyuddha) of Gwaliar, who ruled for 44 years from A. D. 790 to 834, and Dharmapāl, king of Gauḍa, were contemporaries of Śaśaṅka. These kings must have been either descendants or relatives of the dynasty of Śāliśuk.

Some time ago, I held the opinion that Daśarath was none other than Priyadarśin, because he is described to have performed charities during the 26th year of his reign. But the continuance of the Maurya dynasty in Bengal upto 8th century A. D.[6], the appointment of Śāliśuk as the governor of Magadh, on the authority of Vāyupurāṇ, the continuance of the rule of the direct descendants of Priyadarśin over Avanti and its end only after 30 to 40 years, the beginning of the Śuṅga dynasty over Avanti after that and burning of Pāṭliputra by Puṣyamitra, the first Śuṅga king—all these details lead us to the conclusion that Daśarath and Priyadarśin must have been names of different individuals though they may have the same family relations with Aśoka.

(6) "Descendants of the Great Aśoka continued as unrecorded local subordinate Rājās of Magadh for many centuries. The last of them and the only one, whose name has been preserved, being Pūrnavarman, who was nearly a contemporary of the Chinese pilgrim Hu-en-Tsang in the seventh century."

In the Yugapurāṇ of Garga-saṃhitā, Śāliśuk has been described as an impious[7] and cruel king. The Buddhist books also mention a brother of Aśoka, about whose cruelties his subjects had approached him with a complaint. Aśoka had ordered his brother to be shut up alone for eight days and had shed tears while inflicting the punishment. This incident took place before he was appointed as the governor of Saurāstra.[8]. During his governorship of Saurāṣṭra, the Sudarśan lake was probably repaired (A. M. 244 to 247=B. C. 283 to 280) By the time he was transferred to Magadh, he must have sobered down.

Pundit Jayasvālji (J. B. O. R. S. Sept. 1928, P. 416), states that Śāliśuk was the son of Kuṇāl or Suyaśa, i. e. he was the younger brother of Samprati. Then he divides the Maurya dynasty into two branches. Over the first (eastern) was Daśarath as the king of Magadh, and over the western was Samprati; then he gives name of four or five kings in each branch. They are:—

| Eastern branch | Western branch |
|---|---|
| Daśarath | Samprati |
| Śāliśuk[9] | Bṛhaspati |
| Devdharmā | Vṛsasen |
| Śatadhanvā | Puṣyadharmā |
| Bṛhadrath | Pusyamitra |

(on the authority of Divyāvadān)

(7) M. S. I. pp. 653–671 and Gargasaṁhitā verses 16 to 21; (Translation in Buddhiprakāśa, vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 88; it is as follows:—"Śāliśuk was Destroyer of Yagnas, perpetrator of cruelties; of a wicked nature and impious; he persecuted the people of Saurāṣṭra. He made his elder brother Samprati famous among the Jains." (As Śāliśuk was a Jain, he is very much despised by the Purāṇas).

(8) Before his appointment, the governor of Saurāṣṭra was "Viśākha,"a Palhav, so it can be deduced from the Sudarśan Lake Inscription. Vide B. I. P. pp. 18 to 20.

(9) Śāliśuk has been stated as fourth in descent to Aśoka, in Garga-saṁhitā (E. H I. 3rd edi. pp. 214 and pp. 194, f. n. no. 1). "He ruled for 13 years." (Vāyupurāṇ by Pargiter). It is stated in the Purāṇas that both Daśarath and Samprati ascended the throne in the same year and that

These lists, however, cannot be taken as authoritative, because they are contradictory, It is well known the Pusyamitra became the ruler of Avanti after killing Bṛhadratha. Thus Bṛhadratha must have been put in the western branch and not in the eastern. Again Bṛhadratha must have been placed just over Pu.yamitra, who killed him and came to the throne. There we find the name Pusyadharmā. Thus we see that the lists contradict each other.

## Appendix D

We have seen on P......that Priyadarśin had divided his empire into several political divisions and had appointed governors over each of them. Over Kāśmir and Gāndhār he had appointed his son named Jālauk. No other book except Rajtaraṃgiṇi—which is, however, the most authoritative book on Kāśmir—contains any details about him. These detalls, though at several places contradictory, are on the whole reliable. We have given below an extract from that book:—[1].

**Jālauk**

" Jalauk, the name of this alleged son of Aśoka cannot otherwise be traced."[2]. (2) According to Rājtaraṅgiṇi, king Jalauk of Kaśmir was valorous, and had conquered all the territory upto Kanoaja. He was succeeded by Dāmodar who was succeeded by Huṣka, Javiṣka and Kaniṣka respectivly (3) He invaded and conquered Kanoaja during the 26 th. year of his reign.[3]. (4) Even his connection[4] ( this is about Dāmodar who succeeded Jāloaka ) with Aśoka's family is characteristically enough left doubtful by

Daśarath died a year before Samprati. It was probably Śāliśuk who died a year before Samprati, because Daśarath had died much earlier.

Thus Priyadarśin ruled for 54 years; of which, contemporarily,

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Daśarath | „ | „ | 40 | „ | = B. C. 237 to 277 |
| Śāliśuk | „ | „ | 13 | „ | = B. C. 277 to 299 |
| | | | 53 | | |

(1) Rājataraṅgiṇi, Taraṅg I, pp. 75. para. 73.
(2) M. S. I. pp. 654.
(3) Ibid. Pp. 655.
(4) Rājataraṅgiṇi, Taraṅga I, pp. 76, para. 74.

the chronicler. (5) Huska[5], Juska and Kaniska—Kalhaṇ gives an account of the reigns of these kings who are supposed to have ruled simultaneously. (6) It clearly describes them as princes of Turuska i. e. Turkish nationality. Kanishkapur, Hushkapur and Jushkapur, which were founded by them, survive till to-day. (7) That illustrious king[6] ( the Pious Aśoka ) built the town of Shri--nagar, which was very prosperous with its 96 lacs of houses resplendent with wealth. As the country was overrun by Mlechchhas[7], the pious king (Aśoka) obtained from Bhūtesh, whom he had pleased by his austerities, a son, in order to exterminate them.[8] This son is called Jālauk. (8) Upto that time[9] there were seven main officers, then the number was raised to 18 and the administrative system was based on the model that existed during the time of Udhiṣṭhira."

In short, there was a king of Kāśmir named Dharmāśoka, who had a son named Jālauk. This Jālauk drove out the Mlechchhas from his kingdom and ruled over a vast territory extending upto Kanoaja. Jālauk[10] was succeeded by Dāmodar. After him[11] there were three kings, each of whom founded a city after his own name. These cities are extant at present.

Let us now examine the details. We have already proved on P. 348 to 352 that Dharmāśoka was none other than Priyadarśin. Let us start our calculations with this as the starting point. Jālauk was a valorous king who conquered territory of Kanoj, and

(5) F. n. no. 4 above.

(6) Rājataraṅgiṇī, vol. I. pp. 19, verse 104.

(7) Ibid. Verse 107.

(8) Ibid. Verse 108.

(9) Ibid. Verses nos. 118, 119, 120.

(10) J. O. B. R. S. XX, nos. 3 and 4. Tp. 284. "Jālauk is a nick-name (leech)".

(11) We have not stated here whether they came immediately after him, or some other kings of dynasty intervened between Dāmodar and these kings. Another dynasty had intervened and ruled for nearly two centuries. The author of Taraṅgiṇī has not mentioned this because he was concerned with only the Hindu kings of Kāśmīr. (F. n. no. 19 below).

ruled for more than 26 years. Before his time, the Mlechchhas ruled the territory. He drove them out and brought the territory under his power. Śrinagar was founded by his father Dharmāśoka, who observed severe penance for having a son. That son was Jālauk, who was succeeded by Dāmodar. After him, three Turkish kings ruled Kāśmir[12], namely Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka.

The details given above are based on the authority of Rājataraṅgiṇi. They are contradicted by details given in other books. We have now to decide which detail from which is reliable. (1) It is stated in the Taraṅgiṇi that Jālauk's reign lasted for more than 26 years and that his kingdom extended upto Kanoj. We know that Priyadarśin died in 237 B. C. Jālauk could have become the independent king of Kāśmir, only after that and not before that. Priyadarśin was succeeded by his son Vṛṣabhasen, due to whose weakness and religious bigotry, governors of various provinces declared themselves independent. Jālauk must also have broken his allegiance to his brother. Considering that his reign lasted for 30 years, he ruled from 237 B. C. to 207 B. C. During this time he drove the Mlechchhas out of his territory and established his sway over it. But the accounts of Puṣyamitra and the Bactrian general Euthidemos tells us that[13] all that territory was under their power at that time. Euthidemos had established his power over the Punjab and Surasen—( B. C. 230 to 205, Vol. III. ) Puṣyamitra's grandson Vasumitra, had fought a bloody battle against the Yavan chiefs and had conquered Pāñchāl and Surasen from them, in B. C. 203. Thus Jālauk must have wrested only the Punjāb from the Mlechchhas and certainly not Surasen and Pāñchāl. But if this were so, how could Demetrius the son of Euthidemos, have established his seat of capital in Sāket (Śiālkot) in about B. C. 190–195? It can have been possible, (1) only if the Punjāb had been under the power of Jālauk only for a short time and then reconquered by the Mlechchhas. Surasen must have been conquered by Vasumitra, i. e. must have come under the power of Agnimitra Śuṅga and then must have been conquered

(12) F. n. no. 11 above.

(13) Vide his account.

by Demetrius from him. Thus these provinces must have been under the power of different kings within a short span of years. (2) Or, Jālauk never conquered these territories and the statement of the author of Taraṅgiṇi may be false. In either case Jālauk cannot be called a valorous king.

Jālauk is stated to have been succeeded by Dāmodar, who was succeeded by the three Turkish kings. It is not stated in the Taraṅgiṇi whether Dāmodar came on the throne immediately after Jālauk or some time had elapsed between them. It may be taken for granted that he must have come to the throne immediately after Jālauk and that he must have been his son. His territory, however, must not have extended beyond Kāśmir because the territory surrounding it was under the power of Demetrius and after his death under Menander, from whom it was wrested by the Śunga king Bhānumitra. (Vol. III, for their accounts). Dāmodar probably ruled from B. C. 207 to B. C. 177=30 years; or, if Jālauk's reign may be taken to have lasted for 40 years, i. e. upto 197 B. C., then Dāmodar must have ruled from B. C. 197 to B C. 167.

Now we turn to the three Turkish kings. The extract given above states that they ruled "simultaneously." This seems to be ill-founded. They have each of them founded a city after their names. These cities are distant from one another; but all the three are in Kāśmir. This leads us to the conclusion that they did not rule "simultaneously" but succeeded one another.

Let us look to their dates. Dāmodar's reign ended in 167 B. C. Historians say that Kaniṣka flourished about 78 A. D., about which time he started the Śaka era. Hence his rule must have begun in 78 A. D. or some what earlier than that ( if we suppose that he did not start the era with his accession to the throne but in commemoration of some glorious victory ). There is an interval of about 250 years[14] between these two dates. It is not possible that the reigns of Haviṣka and Juṣka lasted for these many years. This means that after the death of Dāmodar,

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(14) F. n. no. 11 above.

several other kings[15] must have ruled Kāśmir before these kings. These other kings may have been descendants of Dāmodar or some others.[16]

Thus the two sources of information about Kāśmir—the Purāṇas and the Taraṅgiṇi—differ from each other in several respects. The Purāṇas were composed in about 4th or 5th century A. D., the Taraṅgiṇi was written in the 12th century A. D. Thus from the view point of antiquity, the Purāṇas may be taken as more reliable. Again the Purāṇas state details about the whole of India, while the author of Taraṅgiṇi was a native of Kāśmir and may have made some partial and coloured statements in his book. So from this point of view also, the Purāṇas are more reliable. But the Purāṇas may have omitted details–and sometimes important details—which the author of Taraṅgiṇi may have included in his book, because the former were concerned with the history of the whole of India, while the latter is exclusively devoted to the account of Kāśmir. The details given in Purāṇas—e. g. the province of Mathurā was exchanged by the Yavans and the Śuṅgas only and there was no third party—are substantiated by details about other countries. Hence I incline towards them. I hope that scholars will throw more light on this question.

A portion of Khoṭan is on the border of Kāśmir and one can go to Tibeṭ through it. Priyadarśin had invaded and conquered Khoṭan and had appointed his son Kusthan as governor over it[17]. Buddhist books state that his birth was the result of the favour of gods. The author of Taraṅgiṇi has stated that Jālauk was born as the result of the favour of Bhūteś.[18] What is the truth? If Jālauk's kingdom included Khoṭan and Tibeṭ, his descendants must have stayed and ruled these countries. By coming into contact

(15) This is substantiated by the history of foreigners. Kadaphasis I & II and others ruled this territory during this interval of 100 to 125 years. Vide vol. IV.

(16) F. n. no. 11 above.

(17) Pp. 313 above and f. n. connected with them.

(18) No. 7 in the extracts quoted above.

with the people there, they must have adopted their customs and manners. Hence the kings Haviṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka, whom we suppose to have been of the Turkish origin, may have been these descendants of Jālauk, who must have stayed in Khoṭān and Tibeṭ for a long time and then may have come to Kāśmir.[19]

These questions demand full inquiry.

Now we shall state some details about the administative system of Jālauk. It has been stated above that upto his time there were only seven officers. During his time the number was raised to 18 and the administrative system was based on the model of Yudhisṭhīr. The seeds were sown by his father. The officers either could not cope with work or must have been persecutors of the public, extorting bribes from the people. We do not know why the number of the officers was seven. Certainly the custom is not of the Indian origin. It may have been of the yona origin or of the yu-chi (Chinese) origin.

* * *

Further research work has made me institute the following corrections in the conclusious stated in the foregoing pages.

**Some corrections**

(1) It has been stated that Aśoka married Tiṣyarakṣita some time before he came to the throne in B. C. 330 and that she was raised to the status of queen-consort after being called to Pātliputra before his accession. At that time Aśoka changed his faith due to the force of the beauty of Tiṣyarakṣitā.

Kuṇāl was appointed as the heir-apparent because he was two years elder than Mahendra. The former was born of the Vaiśya girl of Vidiśā and the latter, of Tiṣyarakṣitā. On the authority of the dynastic list of the Ceylonese kings, the date of Mahendra's

(19) Thus Kaniṣka and others who are supposed to have been of the Hūṇa origin, were really descendants of either Jālauk or of Kusthan; they may have been mixed with the Turkish.

Jālauk, being a son of Samprati, was a Jain. The Turks were also Jains because their country was situated near mount Meru, the central point of Jambudvīpa.

Though they mixed with each other, yet both of them were Jains. The Hūṇas on the other hand were only partially Jains.

birth has been fixed up as 332 B. C. (p. 236). Thus Kuṇal was born in 334 B. C.; and when these princes came to Pāṭliputra, they were respectively six and eight years old.

That Mahendra was born in B. C. 332 means that Aśoka must have married Tiṣyarakṣita at least in 333–34 B. C. i. e. when Aśoka ascended the throne in B. C. 330, nearly four years had elapsed since the marriage.

As regards Kuṇal who was born in B. C. 334, it has been found out that his mother had given birth to him a year after her marriage with Aśoka, i. e. in B. C. 335.

Aśoka was born in 352 B. C. (p. 227). He was fourteen when he was appointed governor in B. C. 338. He could not possibly have remained unmarried till 335 B. C. when he married the Vaiśya's daughter, i. e. he must have married some other girl before his marriage with her and she must have been raised to the status of the queen-consort after she gave birth to Kuṇāl. (This means that the queen-consort is not always the woman whom the king married first of all, though that must have been the usual custom before another queen gave birth to a son). As no other name is forthcoming, we can conclude that Aśoka must have married Tisyarakṣita before he married the Vaiśya girl and that she must have been the queen consort till the time when Kuṇāl was born. This must have excited her jealousy towards the Vaiśya girl. When Aśoka went to Pāṭliputra, Kuṇāl's mother could not accompany him because she was far advanced in pregnancy. After giving birth to the child she died and after her death, Tiṣyarakṣitā, who had by this time already given birth to Mahendra, must have been made the queen-consort at the time of Aśoka's accession to the throne.

In short, Aśoka had married Tiṣyarakṣita shortly after he was appointed governor of Ujjain in 338–7 B. C. Nearly three years later, in B. C. 335, he married the Vaiśya girl, who, a year later, gave birth to Kuṇāl. Two years after that, in B. C. 332, Tiṣyarakṣita gave birth to Mahendra. When Aśoka's coronation ceremony was performed in B. C. 326, these princes were respectively eight and six years old.

(2) Priyadarśin had two issues by queen Chāruvākī:—prince Tivar and princess Chārumatī. We do not know which of them was the elder of the two. It is certain, however, that Chārumatī was married with Devpāl.

During the 14th year of his reign (B. C. 276), Priyadarśin visited Nepāl for the first time and appointed Devpāl as its governor. On his second visit in B. C. 270, during the 20th year of his reign, he took his daughter Chārumatī with him. This means that Chārumatī was certainly married by 270 B. C, though we cannot definitely say whether she was only betrothed in 276 B. C. or was married at that time. Any way, her marriage ceremony took place not later than 270 B. C. Considering her to have been fourteen years of age at that time, her birth-date would come to 284 B. C. i. e. Priyadarśin must have married with Chāruvākī at least in 285 to 286 B C. Now Priyadarśin conquered Kaliṅg during the 9th year of his reign, i. e. in B. C. 281. So the Āndhra princess, whom he married at that time, could not have been Chāruvākī. Hence queens No. 2. and No. 3, stated on p. 263-4 above, are to be taken as separate persons and the statement made in f. n. no. 42 below it, is to be taken as false. In short, prince Tivar and princess Chārumatī were not the issues of the Āndhra princess. For details read No. 3 below.

(3) The Allahbad—Kauśāmbi P. E. tells us that prince Tivar and princess Chārumatī were born of queen Chāruvākī. We have not yet considered what the connection is between P. E. and any member of the royal family. We have also disproved the statement made on P. 263 that Chāruvākī was the Āndhra princess.

On the other hand it has been settled that those of the R. E. and M. R. E. which do not bear the "Elephant" are erected in memory of the members of the royal family who died there. Of these only two are doubtful; one is in the Punjab—either Śāhbājgrhi or Munśerā and the other is Maski in the Nizam State. At the former place, most probably died Tisya, the brother of Asoka and the guardian of Kuṇāl. (P. 328-9). Maski, thus, probably is place where died prince Tivar.

It is not known whether Tivar was the heir-apparent or not. Probably he was never installed on that title (P. 263) and probably he died before he came to age. Otherwise his title would have been mentioned in the Allahbad R. E. Again he must have died some time before the P. E. was erected. (during the 26th year of the reign in B. C. 264). Aśoka died in 271 B. C., i. e. seven years before the erection of the P. E. One question arises here. In the P. E. the names of the queen and of the prince and the princess are clearly stated; while in the Maski R. E., a blank space has been left after the word "Aśokass" What is the reason of this, when the same person got both of them erected? We have to arrive at the conclusion that Maski R. E. must have been erected during the life time of Aśoka, and that Priyadarśin only showed his reverence towards his grandfather by keeping the space blank, where the word "Naptā" =grandson ought to have been inscribed. As Aśoka was already dead by the time when the Allahbad P. E. was erected, there was no question of keeping any blank spaces. (c. f. argument No. I in the appendix on the Lake Sudarśan). Thus the prince died about 270 B. C. or before that.

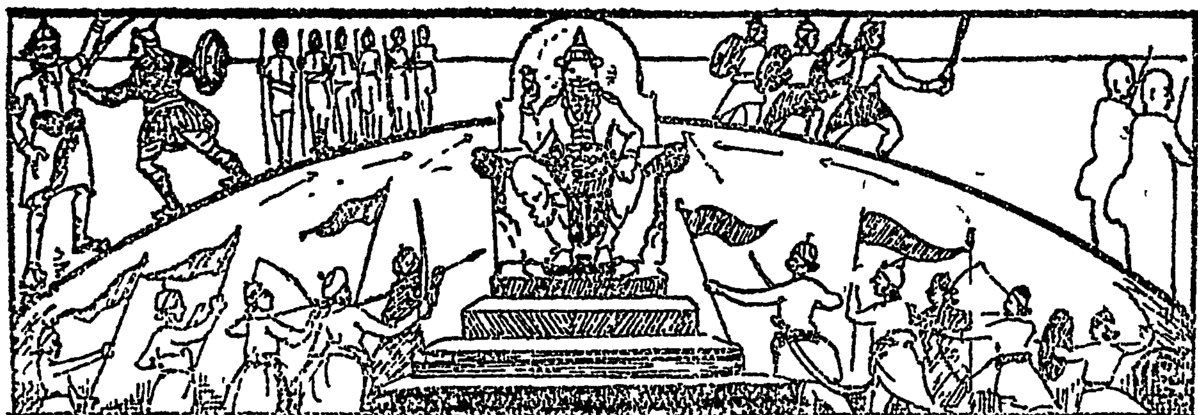
Why had the prince gone there? As he was too young to lead an expedition, he must have gone there to see some relative. In No. 2. above, it has been shown that there were no relatives of his mother there. Who can have been the relative? We can not help concluding that Princess Chāruvākī must also have been an Āndhra princess, but not the same as one whom Priyadarśin married after his conquest of Kaliṅg in 281 B. C. Priyadarśin must have married her before that time and she may have been the sister of the 6th Āndhra king, while the second princess may have been the sister of the 7th Āndhra king.

(4) Now we have to rule out the conjecture that Tivar died while trying to suppress a rebellion. Hence the rising of a rebellion described on p. 276-7 is to be dropped as improbable, together with f. n. no. 112 connected with it.

(5) On p. 266 it has been stated that Priyadarśin's mother died shortly after giving birth to his younger brother; while on

p. 293 it has been stated that after the conquest of Kāliṅg, he went to pay his respects to his mother. Of these the latter alternative is correct. It was Kuṇāl's mother who died shortly after giving birth to another son whom we have proved to have been the father of Daśarath. The reader, I hope, will excuse this oversight.

(6) Observatory:—On p. 311 f. n. no. 87 it has been stated that the observatory must have been started in Ujjain in about 280 B. C. by Priyadarśin; while on p. 269 f. n. no. 71 it has been stated that there were observatories during the times of Varāhamihir and his elder brother Bhadrabāhu (i. e. during the reign of Chandragupta B. C. 372). What is the truth ? For the statement made on P. 311, there is no evidence forthcoming. I made it in order to stimulate the thoughts of my readers and also thinking that a progressive ruler like Priyadarśin, who introduced wide and varied reforms may also have started a useful institution like this. Again it was very near his capital, just as Greenwich is very near London. But, on the other hand, solid proofs are obtainable of the existence of observatories during the reign of emperor Chandragupta, and even five to six centuries B. C. ( Coins No. 27 to 32; the cross and ball sign is an irrefutable piece of evidence ). In short, observatories existed in India as early as the 6th century B. C. and the central place was Ujjain.



# Chapter VI

## Sudden decline of the Mauryan Empire and the branches that were its off-shoots

Synopsis:—*Subhāgasen succeeds Priyadarśin—his desire to follow the foot-steps of his father in religious propaganda, but subversive means adopted by him for that—Comparison with the religious orthodoxy of Aurangzeb—establishment of independent power by various vassal kings—disunion and dissension—the increasing power of Śatakarṇi kings in Dakṣiṇāpath and aggressive religious propaganda by him—riots and rebellions everywhere resulting into the separation of various kingdoms from the empire—the murder of his master by the Commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra with the help of his son Agnimitra and the establishment of the Śuṅga dynasty in that province.*

*The list of the weak successors and corrections in it—inquiry into the question as to who were Indrapālit and Bandhupālit—Many writers have fixed up Kuṇāl as an emperor; inquiry into the possibility of the truth—A correct list of the Mauryan kings.*

Everything in this world ends sooner or later and so did the Mauryan empire; and institution ends either gradually or at once. If one dynasty immediately supersedes the other, the former can be said to have ended all at once. If, on the other hand, no such invasion takes place, the rule of a dynasty can be said to have declined gradually. The Mauryan empire is an exception to this general rule, because it collapsed all at once even without the onslaughts of any other power. The account of the successors of Priyadarśin will make it clear how this happened.

**Reasons of the decline**

Priyadarśin died in A. M. 290=B. C. 237. He was succeeded by his eldest son who has been variously named Vṛṣabhsen, Subhāgsen and Virsen[1]. He ruled for eight years only, B. C. 237 to 228. The reasons for this are stated below, in the words of a learned writer[2]. "The Indian history is comprised of a series of centralization and decentralization of power each supplanting the other. Religion, culture and literature—their unity—lead to the former while disparity of languages, races and geographical and climatic differences lead to the latter. The notion that India is one and indivisible existed in ancient times[3]; but the opposing forces stated above succeeded each other, as one or the other proved more powerful. As a result, no empire ruled steadily and for a long time in ancient India." "There were many independent kingdoms which could be brought together under a federal structure[4]. During the times of Mahābhārat, powerful federal unions like those of Andhaka or of Vṛṣṇis existed. They were the most powerful empires. But dissensions again arose among the composite states and tended towards decentralization." "Certainly[5] Chāṇakya's

**Vṛṣabhsen**

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(1) M. S. I. pp. 669, and f. n. no. 21 below. The "Sofāgsen" of Greek history is called "Sobhāgasen" by Paṇḍit Tārānāth of Tibet. (Vol. II. Coin no. 93).

(2) M. S. I., pp. 662.

(3) Ibid. Pp. 663.

(4) Ibid. Pp. 665.

(5) Ibid. Pp. 665.

political creed was to establish a centralized empire. But he had to recognize the independent existence of autonomous states within its fold, because he found them powerful. He tried his best to instigate quarrels among such states, but in the end he found it wiser to incorporate such states within the empire without disturbing their autonomy in internal affairs. The rock-edicts of Aśoka (i. e. Priyadarśin) clearly declares this autonomy of federated states within the Mauryan empire[6].

We quote a similar passage from another writer[7], " There existed two kinds of constitutions in India:—(1) Unitary, and (2) Federal. Chāṇakya tried to establish the Unitary form of government and thus to destroy the autonomy of various independent states. This means that right from the time of Śreṇik upto the time of Chandragupta, the federal form of government existed. Chāṇakya was not wholly successful in his efforts. So he rested content with a mixture[8] of the two forms[9], which continued upto the time of Priyadarśin as his edicts make it clear.

It is possible that Priyadarśin introduced certain changes. We shall again quote the learned writer.[10] " The states under the Mauryan empire were not quite autonomous. " This state of affairs deserves notice while accounting for the fall of the Mauryan empire "[11]. This means that the religious mindedness of Priyadarśin was not the cause of the decline as some writers try to show. "It is a mistake to think[12] that the policy of Aśoka i. e.

(6) Coins found from this region tell us that though they were under the suzerainty of Priyadarśin, (They bear the "Elephant" ), they were autonomous as regards their internal administration. (Other signs on the coins indicate this). For evidence vide chap. III, Pt. III.

(7) Purātattva, vol. I.

(8) For instance, the kingdoms of Āndhra, Pāṇḍya and Cholā; while the kingless ones were "Keralputta, Satyaputta, Yon" etc. During the rule of Chandragupta only Āndhra had a king over it.

(9) This was the reason why Chandragupta's power was restricted, and so he was called "Vṛṣala". (Pp. 170).

(10) M. S. I., pp. 666.

(11) Ibid. I p. 667.

(12) Ibid. Pp. 668.

Priyadarśin) had so much weakened the empire that the army—the army which had defeated Seleucus and which had checked the progress of Alexander—was easily defeated by foreign powers. The army was as powerful as ever. Jālauk defeated the Greeks with the same army. It was unfortunate for the Mauryan empire that Jālauk established a separate kingdom of his own in the north-western territory"[13].

In short, it is untrue to attribute the decline of the empire to the religious devotion of Priyadarśin and consequent disappearance of the fighting spirit from his army which thus could not withstand the onslaughts of the foreigners[14]. This reason, therefore, though advocated by certain writers, is groundless. The decline was due to disruptions among the members of the royal family and due to the religious bigotry which resulted into the persecution of the people. Various vassal kings declared themselves independent and thus decentralization began[16]. Had the successors of Priyadarśin pursued his policy of religious propaganda tempered with tolerence[17], the empire would have remained intact. We quote a passage below from the same writer in support of this[18]:—"Rājataraṅgiṇi tells us that there was a war between Magadh[19] and Kāśmīr, and Jālauk, with a superior army, was the victor, and extended his territory upto Kanoaj[20]. The weakened condition of the

(13) Appendix D. Pp. 360–5, where is given an account of Jālauk.

(14) Cf. the discussion about the Jaina philosophy of "Syādavād," on Pp. 305–7.

(15) See further.

(16) Cf. the details given further on.

(17) It is well-known how the great Mogul emperor Akbar adopted the policy of religious tolerence, while Aurangzeb was a religious bigot. The results of their policies are well-known. Read the paragraph, "Detailed inquiry into the reasons." This shows us the wisdom of Priyadarśin's policy.

(18) M. S. I., pp. 668.

(19) The word "Magadh" is not given in Rājataraṅgiṇi, but has been used by the author of M. S. I. They were no longer the emperors of Magadh; they were the emperors of Avanti.

(20) M. S. I., pp. 669.

Mauryan empire was taken advantage of, by the Greeks who invaded India. Antiocus the Great[21] invaded the territory of Subhāgasen or Vrṣasen[22] in B. C. 206, but soon after a treaty was concluded between them." "He again[23] invaded India, and this time Subhāgasen had to conclude a treaty according to which he gave 150 elephants to the Greek invader who then returned to his country." Thus the Bactrian chief invaded India twice and was more successful in his second attempt. Thus the empire declined because Jālauk separated himself from the Mauryan empire and established his independent kingdom and because the policy of religious tolerence was dropped by the successors of Priyadarśin, whose empire, as his edicts proclaim it, extended over the vastest territory that ever was under any Indian emperor.

We have now come to the conclusion that there were two main causes of the decline:—(1) dissenssions among the members of the royal family, and (2) religious persecution.

**Detailed inquiry into the causes of decline**

The Mauryan empire was the vastest of all the empires that ever existed in India. Why did it collapse so suddenly and within a short span of the quarter of a century when its foundations had just been strengthened and deepened by emperor Priyadarśin? Had it not been for his immortal edicts, the period of the rule of the Mauryan dynasty would, perhaps, have been

(21) M. S. I., pp. 669. The writer has thus taken Antiocus and Subhāgasen to have been contemporaries. But Antiocus was dead long since. The mistake is committed in the same way in which Aśoka has been mistaken for Priyadarśin. All these mistakes are due to identifying Sandrecottus with Chandragupta, and hence the date of Subhāgasen has been stated as B. C. 290 because that was the date of Antiocus.

The real date of Subhāgasen is B. C. 236. At that time Bactrian chief Deodotus II ruled over the territory about Afaghānistān and about mount Hindukuśa. (See further the dynastic list of the foreign rulers).

If Antiocus and Subhāgasen had been contemporaries, the time of the latter also must have been 280 B. C. because that of the former is B. C. 280 to 261. (The dynastic list of the foreigners). In short, the events are fine, but they are connected with wrong names and dates of the foreigners.

(22) M. S. I., pp. 657.

(23) Ibid. Pp. 657.

swallowed up in the abyss of time. The first cause of such gigantic and immediate downfall was family disintegration and the second was religious orthodoxy[24]. Subhāgsen and Jālauk were sons of the same parents[25], yet Jālauk separated himself from the empire proper and established his independent kingdom in Kāśmir, which he extended by and by. Subhāgsen began religious persecution in the empire, as if to hasten the calamity.

One of the causes of this sudden rise of the idea of the decentralization of power was the precedent[26] established by the neighbouring foreign rules. In Yona territory, the ruler of which had formed friendship with Priyadarśin, Euthidemos had established his independent power and had already begun to invade India after passing through Kābul and had conquered the Punjāb. He did not, however, think it wise to stay personally in India for a long time, because his own kingdom was in danger of the invasion from the ruler of Kaśmir in the north and other kings in the south, though it is difficult to explain why he did not invade Kāśmir himself. There must have been the following two reasons for that:—(1) Kāśmir did not lie in the way of a foreign invador and (2) at that time Kāśmir was ruled by a powerful king like Jālauk, who, beginning with the territories round Jālandhar, Ludhiānā, Ambālā, and Delhi, had expanded his kingdom upto Kanoaj[27]. Seeing that the emperor's brother had thus separated himself from the empire, the Persian rulers began to annex

(24) These very two reasons, as we all see, are causing much misery and a great setback to our fight for freedom in India. The end to communal disturbances actuated by many interested parties, seems to be very far.

(25) They may have been born of different mothers.

(26) When one becomes mad after freedom and liberty, one usually uses little discretion as to the means he employs for getting them. Again, desire for freedom spreads with the quickness of an epidemic. Hence, the cycle of centralization and decentralization goes on for ever, working on the principle, "action and re-action are equal and opposite." Again, Jālauk may have seen the Yon chief establishing his independent power over the territory and may have been actuated by the same idea to establish his own sway over Kāśmīr and other provinces.

(27) Read the matter above.

territory after territory from the Indian empire, with the result that the boundaries of the empire which extended upto Syriā and Asian Turkey during the rule of Priyadarśin, narrowed down to the banks of the Sutlej. In provinces like Rajputānā and Sind, on the other hand, the Śakas and other races who had settled[28] there since the 5th century B. C., were preparing to rise in a body against the religious persecution of the emperor but had not actively stirred themselves because of the want of a leader[29]. In southern India, the Āndhra king, the most powerful of all, had already asserted his independence. At his instances the semi-independent chiefs like Cholā, Pāṇdya, Kadamb, Keralputta and others, who were consins of the Mauryan rulers, also broke their allegiance to the emperor. They had rightly thought that the

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(28) This was due to the transformation of the territory around Jesalmīr into a desert; and due to the Persians migrating into India. (Why they did so is yet to be found out).

(29) After some time they came under the power of Bhūmak, the Kṣharāṭa kṣatrap. He himself was first under the power of the Bactrian chiefs—Demetrius and Menander. When Menander died leaving no heir behind him, he assumed the title of Mahākṣatrap and established his independent power over the territory. (See the chap. on Foreign Invaders and Kṣatrapas). At first I was of the opinion that Bhūmak himself may have been a Śaka-chief and may not have been a general of Demetrius or of Menander; he may have established his independent power taking advantage of the opportunity of the death of Menander without any heir. Other chiefs, like Rājuvul, the father of Soḍās had done the same thing. So, Bhūmak may have declared himself as ruler of the territory comprising Bhinnamāl, Jodhpur and Śirohī states. Two reasons, however, made me drop this idea. (1) The coins of Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ have the Kharoṣṭi script, which, as we know, was the script of Kamboj. (Cf. the language in the time of Pāṇini, vol. I. pp. 36 and vol. II, pp. 23). This means that he must have been a Kṣaharāṭ. (2) The queen-consort of Rājuvul had convened a meeting of the kings at the time of the opening ceremony of the Lion-pillar of Mathurā. The presidential chair was given to Nahapāṇ, as he was the representative of Kṣaharāṭas like Bhūmak. This proves that Bhūmak was a kṣatrap and a native of Kamboj. Thus Bhūmak must have come to India when Demetrius and Menander came to India, and must have been appointed over Bhinnamāl. (This statement is supported by other details in the account of Bhūmak and the era used by him. Vide his account further).

emperor was the least likely to disturb them, because of their remoteness[30] from the seat of the capital and because the emperor would have first to confront a power adversary like the Āndhra king, before he could invade their territory. The same condition prevailed in eastern India. In Magadh, as we already know, a branch of the Mauryan dynasty ruled; but, like Jālauk, the ruler saw nothing wrong in establishing an independent kingdom there[31]. Thus decentralization of power had begun everywhere in India, and consequently the empire dwindled down gradually.

This decentralization was accentuated by religious persecution also. Subhāgsen was not the heir-apparent by birth[32]. So, like other members of the royal family, he was appointed as the governor of the frontier provinces which were under the sway of Avanti[33]. Hence he had not received the training which would make him fit to discharge the duties and responsibilities of an emperor, much less to cultivate and put into practice the idea of religious catholicity. Again, he was appointed governor over such provinces[34] which developed in him autocratic tendency. As a result of this, though he had already passed over the haughty years of youth and was fairly advanced in age[35], when he ascended the throne, and though he had not fallen a victim to any major vice, yet the want of the positive cultivation of virtues combined with an autocratic tendency, made him enforce strict measures

(30) Cf. vol. I. pp. 313. Where it is stated how Kaling and small kingdoms of the south became independent of Magadh.

(31) That the Śunga king Agnimitra had invaded it, proves that it must have become independent at this time. (Vide the account of Agnimitra).

(32) The heir-apparent was murdered in some province, probably Takṣilā, where Priyadarśin had sent him to suppress a rebellion. (Pp. 265 etc.).

(33) These territories had been annexed to the Indian empire when Aśoka married the daughter of Seleucus Necator.

(34) Not only had the Persians inhabited this province, but the Yavanas had come to it after the invasion of Alexander the Great. They had mixed with the Bactrians, the Kṣharātas of Kābul and the Śakas of Baluchistan.

(35) Coin no. 93 in plate no. 6 and pp. 131 for details about it. It tells us that he must have been sixty by the time he ascended the throne.

with regard to the propagation[36] of his faith. In this he was goaded by an ambition to "out–Priyadarśin Priyadarśin" in religious propaganda; but having neither been trained under Priyadarśin nor being aware of his intentions and policy, he began ruthlessly to practise religious terrorism. Hence, though the aim was the same, namely religious propagation, yet the means adopted by him being quite different, discontent among his people knew no bounds. The above–quoted writer says:—[37], "Religious propaganda effected by wrong means[38] or for wrong purposes leads to untold harm; and when the state lends its force in this[39], one cannot say where the things will go and how far. Aśoka's policy (i. e. Priyadarśin's) was not to spread Buddhism (i. e. Jainism) by any means, fair or foul. His successor could not maintain this policy of religious propaganda without persecution and with persuasion." We can compare this policy with that of Aurangzeb or of the Roman emperor Constantine. Instances to the contrary and similar to that of Priyadarśin, are also not wanting. Every reader of history cherishes the memory of the benign rules of Queen Victoria and of Akbar. It was not Subhāgsen's policy to follow the footsteps of his father; the result was, he led a miserable life, made his people unhappy and lost the empire his father had gained and established.

The same condition prevailed in Dakṣiṇāpath. The seventh king of the Śatavahan dynasty, known as Śātakaraṇi II, was in the prime of his youth with all the shortcomings of youth, when he came to the throne. He was also autocratic like Subhāgsen. But as long as Priyadarśin was alive,–we know he had defeated the king of Kāliṅg[40] and brought him under his power,–he could do nothing in opposition

(36) Read further.

(37) M. S. I., pp. 671.

(38) The communal riots taking place in modern India are also due to these religious differences. Another instance of such turmoil is the atrocities of Aurangzeb. (Cf. f. n. no. 17 above).

(39) Every ruler and ruling community should learn a lesson from this.

(40) The Sudersan Lake Inscription tells us that he had twice defeated the king of Dakṣiṇāpath.

to his policy, as Priyadarśin's R. E. there tells us. When, however Priyadarśin died and when the weak rule of Subhāgsen began, he first declared his independence and began by force the propaganda of the Vedic religion[41], which he had accepted as his faith. He performed the Aśvamedh sacrifice, gathered a large army, invaded Vidiśā–Ujjain, the capital of Subhāgsen, defeated him (and perhaps killed him), ascended the throne of Avanti and performed another Aśvamedh sacrifice. He got there a pillar erected in memory of his victory and made the people pay the expenses of its erection[42]. Then he gave the throne of Avanti to Bṛhaspatimitra,[43] who was either the son or the brother of Subhāgsen, as his vassal and returned to his country. To keep a watch over him, he appointed his general named Pusyamitra, who was also a follower of the Vedic religion. Thus, because Śatavahan king was powerful, he forced his religion everywhere for a short time, while Subhāgsen's empire dwindled down because he was weak and was not supported by his own brothers. He was defeated (and probably killed) in A. M. 299=B. C. 228. Thus within ten years after Priyadarśin's death, the mighty Mauryan empire was no more on the surface of the earth.

**Bṛhaspatimitra and the remaining three kings**

We have already stated in what circumstances Bṛhaspatimitra succeeded Subhāgsen. We have also stated the names of the remaining kings and the durations of their reigns in the first chapter on the Mauryan dynasty. We shall state below the events that took place during the rule in the aggregate

Puṣyamitra was a staunch follower of the Vedic religion and was the representative of the powerful Śātkaraṇi king. When

(41) His forefathers were Jains. He must have been a convert to the Vedic religion under the influence of Patanjali, the royal preceptor. The Jaina religion had reached its zenith during the rule of Priyadarśin. According to the eternal cycle of rise and fall, it is no wonder that its decline may have begun.

(42) See the conquest-pillar of Vidiśā and the inscription over it.

(43) This statement requires correction. I have made it here because sufficient evidence is not available to change it. It is probable that Bṛhaspatimitra will have to be dropped altogether from the list and the rule of Subhāgsen would have to be calculated upto B. C. 301.

Śātkaraṇi died in A. M. 301=226 B. C., his intention was to become king after killing or driving out Bṛhaspatimitra; but he waited a while to see, how the successor of the Śātkaraṇi king conducted his rule. So he became the prime-minister[44] and made his son—Agnimitra—the Commander-in-chief. Seeing that the Śātakaraṇi king was formidable, he postponed his idea for some time.

The subsequent kings of Dakṣiṇapath held nominal power. But Pusyamitra was by that time too old to actively engage himself. His son, Agnimitra who was the Commander-in-chief of the Mauryas, was very powerful and tried his best to spread the Vedic religion in northern India. In the meanwhile, the powerful Jālauk died in A. M. 320=B. C. 207, and was succeeded by his son Dāmodar. Though not a weak king, he was not as powerful as his father. So the Bactrian chiefs, who had hitherto rested content with spurious attacks on India and plundering of provinces, now began regular invasions over India through Peśāvar, the western gate of India. After conquering the Punjāb they annexed territory after territory and thus wrested from Dāmodar all the territory upto Kanoja. Agnimitra saw the immediate danger of foreign invasion over Avanti; hence he persuaded Bṛhadrath[45] to let him train and enlarge the army. After doing so, he once invited the king to inspect the military parade. While the parade was going on, he killed the king with one stroke of his sword, wiped off the disgraceful title "Bhṛtya" which was given to his forefathers and proclaimed himself the emperor of Avanti, thus establishing the Śuṅga dynasty in A. M. 323=B. C. 204. The Mauryan dynasty ended.

Most of the writers have stated these two names in the dynastic list[46]. We have not stated them in the list given on p. 146. The reason is that it cannot be difinitely ascertained to

(44) The authors of the Purāṇas have declared him king from this time and have said that the Śuṅga dynasty began from this time. Though he was king-de-facto, he had not become king-de-jure. In theory he was yet a "Bhṛtya" of the Mauryas as well as of the Śātavahan kings.

(45) Cf. pp. 146 the dynastic list of the Mauryas is given there.

(46) Pp. 144 the dynastic list of the Mauryas.

whom these two names can be applied In historical researches, however, the general method is first to start with a hypothesis, then to establish it as a fact or drop it altogether, as we get evidence in favour or against.

The word Indrapālit means "one as powerful as or one protected by Indra"; while Bandhupālit means "one who is protected by his elder brother." Of the two brothers, Indrapālit must have come to the throne first; while the latter may have come to the throne or may not have come to the throne at all. Let us see to which members of the dynasty from Chandragupta to Bṛhadrath these names can be applied.

**Who were Indrapālit and Bandhupālit?**

Upto Aśokavardhan these names were applied to none. Of the remaining members of the royal family the following pairs of brothers are found:—(1) The two grandsons of Aśoka, namely Daśarath and Priyadarśin; (2) Priyadarśin and Sāliśuk the governor of Saurāṣṭra (3) Subhāgsen and his successor Bṛhaspatimitra (4) Śatadhanvā or Śatadhanuṣ and Bṛhadrath (5) Jālauk of Kāśmir and Kusthan the governor of Tibet[47]; (6) any two of the three successors of Bṛhaspatimitra. Of these pairs, nothing is known about no. 6; and no. 5-brothers were born under auspecious circumstances[48]. But as they took part in the affairs of the empire (taking for granted that they were separate individuals), we cannot say that one succeeded the other. If the two names represent the same individual, there arises no question here. Coming to no. 4, we cannot say that any of them was powerful enough to bear the title of Indrapālit. Turning to no. I; though we can say that Priyadarśin was born under auspecious circumstances, yet Daśarath being many years his senior cannot be appropriately given the name "Bandhupālit." Again both of them ascended their respective thrones at the same time and ruled over separate and independent territories. Hence by the method of elimination, we rule out pairs nos. 6, 5, 4, and 1.

Let us now turn to the claims of no. 3 and no. 2.

(47) Pp. 318 the account of Priyadarśin; details about Tibeṭ.

(48) Appendix D, account of Jālauk.

Pair no. 3 consists of Subhāgsen and Bṛhaspatimitra; and no. 2 of Priyadarśin and Śāliśuk. Subhāgsen may be considered to have been fortunate because he became emperor even though he was not the heir-apparent by birth and may probably and plausibly be given the name "Indrapālit." But it is not certain whether Bṛhaspatimitra was the brother of Subhāgsen or was connected with him in some other way. We have stated his name because other writers have included it in the list. Even if we start with the hypothesis that they were brothers, yet Subhāgsen has little claim to the title Indrapālit, because he was neither a powerful king nor in any way he has expanded or made prosperous his empire. On the contrary, he lost what his father had gained, by his misguided policy of religious persecution. So we come to pair no. 2 and consider its claims. Priyadarśin was born under very auspecious circumstances. Ten months after his birth, he was proclaimed heir to a vast empire. His career was long, uniquely successful and studded with manifold glorious achievements. Thus, he justifies in every way his claims to the name "Indrapālit." Śāliśuk also lived happily under the protection of his elder brother. Gently chidden for his misdeeds by his brother, he was appointed as the governor of Saurāṣṭra[49]. After the death of Daśarath, he was appointed as governor of Magadh. Throughout his life he was protected and made happy by the loving elder brother, Priyadarśin. Thus we see that his claims to the name "Bandhupālit" are equally justified. When we come to this conclusion, the reader will easily understand that[50], these names cannot be included in the dynastic list of the Mauryas. I have purposely avoided them, because they are pet-names and because they might give rise to some confusion.

One thing remains to be mentioned before we close the chapter. Some writers have included the name of Kuṇāl in the dynastic list. Some others have stated that he was appointed as the governor of Takśilā by Aśoka and that he had become blind there. From the details already stated in his account, it is clear that both these things are impossible. He lost his eyes while he was studying

(49) Pp. 265 above.

(50) F. n. no. 46 above.

as a boy in Avanti. There had been no occasion for him to go to Takśilā. Had he not lost his eyes, the history of the Mauryan dynasty and consequently of India, would have taken a different turn. Hence we cannot include his name in the dynastic list.

We have given below the correct list of the dynasty.

| No. | Name | A. M. | to | A. M. | Years | | B. C. | to | B. C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Chandragupta | 146 | „ | 155 = | 9½ | = 23½ | 381 | „ | 372 |
| | | 155 | „ | 169 = | 14 | | 372 | „ | 358 |
| 2 | Bindusār | 169 | „ | 197 = | 27½ | | 358 | „ | 330 |
| 3 | Aśoka | 197 | „ | 237 = | 40½ | | 330 | „ | 289 |
| 4 | Priyadarśin or Samprati or Indrapālit | 237 | „ | 291 = | 53½ | | 28) | „ | 236 |
| 5 | Vṛṣabhasen or Subhāgsen | 291 | „ | 300 = | 9 | | 236 | „ | 227 |
| 6 | Puṣpadharman | 300 | „ | 307 = | 7 | | 227 | „ | 220 |
| 7 | Devadharman | 307 | „ | 314 = | 7 | | 220 | „ | 213 |
| 8 | Śātadharman | 314 | „ | 316 = | 2 | | 213 | „ | 211 |
| 9 | Bṛhadrath | 316 | „ | 323 = | 7 | | 211 | „ | 204 |
| | | | | | 177 | | | | |

## Appendix

In the appendix D, which is exclusively devoted to Jālauk, we have already stated that after the death of Priyadarśin, Jālauk established a separate kingdom over Kāśmir and broke his allegiance to Subhāgsen with whose policy he did not agree. Thus his dynasty was only another branch of the Mauryan dynasty. The author of Rājataraṅgiṇi have called them the descendants of Gonand. Their account deserve a place in any book on Indian history. But nothing except a detail or two is found, as to what happened of the dynasty after the reigns of Jālauk and Dāmodar. These details are given below.

On p. 361 eight points have been stated about Jālauk. During the 26th year of his reign, he drove out the Mlechchhas and

expanded his territory upto Kanoja. Who were these Mlechhchas? We have said that Jālauk ruled for about forty years from B. C. 237 to 197 (p. 363 above). During that time, the Bactrian kingdom included within it the Hindukush on the north, Afganistan on the west and the Punjāb on the south (Read further for details). Like Alexander, they could never take their eyes off India. Time and again, they led spurious invasions over India, plundered the Indian provinces and returned to their native place, lāden with the spoils of war. But later on they adopted the policy of consolidating their possessions in India. Hence Jālauk had to confront them in the Punjāb and as it is stated in the Rājataraṅgiṇi, he was successful in his task. Details will be given in the account of Demetrius, the Bactrian king[1].

As to the duration of Jālauk's reign, some writers say that it lasted for 30 years and some others say that it lasted for 40 years. We shall take nearly 32 years as the duration of his reign[2], from B. C. 237 to 205. Then the duration of the reign of Dāmodar must have been 30 years, from B. C. 205 to 175.

Jālauk had driven out the Mlechchhas and had expanded his territory upto Kanoja. His successor Dāmodar was defeated by the same Mlechchhas and lost all the territory conquered by his father. It is doubtful whether he could maintain his sway over Kāśmir. The Rajataraṅgiṇi is silent on this point. It states that the trio of Huṣka, Juska and Kaniṣka ruled Kāśmir after him. Later on (vide Vol. III) we shall prove that these three kings belonged to the Kuśāna dynasty, which was founded by Kajul Kadaphasis and his successor Vima Kadaphasis, known in history as Kadaphasis I and Kadaphasis II respectively. Again nearly 150 years intervened between the end of the rule of Dāmodar and the beginning of the rule of these kings. It is not

(1) These details refer to Euthidemos, the father of Demetrius. As his kingdom was outside India, his account has been given together with account of Demetrius.

(2) Some proofs about this will be given in the account of the Śuṅga king, Agnimitra. For a clear understanding, however, the reader is referred to the account of Demetrius in vol. III.

known whether Kāśmir was ruled by the descendants of Kāśmir or by some other dynasty during these years. As long as further proofs are not available, we may accept it as a working hypothesis that Kāśmir was ruled by the descendants of Dāmodar and that the Kuśāna kings must have wrested power from them. Again, evidence is not available as to whether there was any blood-relationship between the descendants of Dāmodar and the Kuśāna kings. The members of the royal family were appointed as governors of Khoṭān and Tibeṭ by Priyadarśin. It is generally accepted that some Hindu clans mingled with the Kuśānas, giving rise to mixed races. These two things lead us to the conclusion that the descendants of Dāmodar and the Kuśāna kings must have had some blood-relationship between them. The dissimilarities between them were due to their inhabiting different regions having different cultures and civilizations. The Kuśānas were the natives of Khotān and Tibet. The kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty, Nand dynasty and of the Maurya dynasty came of the Saṁvriji clan (some of the sub-divisions of which are Lichchhavī, Malla etc.). The people who inhabited Tibeṭ, China and Mongolia descended from the Lichchhavī clan. Again we shall see later on, that the original place of the Āryans was the region between the two rivers of the Asian Turkey, namely, the Sirdariā and Āmudariā, both of which flow into the sea of Eral. This region included within its area cities like Murva, Bukhārā and Samarakand. From this region, one batch of the Āryans, migrated towards the east, i. e. towards China and Mongolia; another migrated towards Khotān and Tibeṭ; the third migrated towards India by the route of Afganistan and so on. These things strengthen our conclusion about the blood-relationship between the descendants of Dāmodar and the Kuśāna kings.



# Chapter VII

## The extent of the territory of every emperor

Synopsis:—*The extent of the territory of the Mauryan kings:—*

*Chandragupta:—His establishment of the Mauryan dynasty in an unknown territory—his request to the king of Kaliṅg after having established his authority over Āndhra king—Defeat of Nand IX and the foundation of the Mauryan empire—sudden death of the Kaliṅga king while dividing the spoils of war—the suspicion of the Kaliṅg king and consequently the establishment of Chandragupta's power over Kaliṅga—Compilation of "Arthaśāstra" by Chāṇakya—his retirement and his pilgrimage to Vimalagiri with the Sangha, the digging of the Sudarśan Lake—prediction of a famine in his dream and his conquest ordination.*

*Bindusār:—His doing away with Chāṇakya at the instigation of the new minister—riots and rebellions and consequent decline in the extent of the territory—the attractions of the foreigners towards India because of the misrule prevailing here—conquest of Persia by Alexander and his invasion of India.*

*Aśokavardhan:—Failure of Alexander to suppress the power of Aśoka in the manner in which he did that of Āmbhī and Pauras—various unsuccessful efforts of his successor to establish power over India and the disgraceful treaty concluded by him with the Indian emperor—His misdeeds in his family life and his consequent indifference to matters political—his repentence and his devotion to religion—his happy end.*

*Priyadarśin:—the greatest emperor that ruled over India—decline of his empire after his death and its reasons—historic aphorisms about the evils of bad company to which many Indian kings fall victims.*

# 1. CHANDRAGUPTA

Historians have hitherto given the account of the extent of the territory of Chandragupta commencing with the year in which he became the emperor of Magadh. But as we have already stated on p. 144 the rule of the Maurya dynasty began when Chandragupta established his power over an unknown territory. The map no. 54 at the end of vol. I shows his territory.

We know that nearly 8½ years elapsed belore Chandragupta rose to the emperorship of Magadh, from the chieftaincy of the unknown territory. He started with plundering the territories on the border of the Magadha empire. Chāṇakya had adopted him as his protege in order to wreak vengeance over Nand IX. The map no. 54 given at the end of vol. I will at once make it clear that the southern border of the empire was selected for these raids, because there stretched a rocky region between the Magadha empire on the one hand and the Kaliṅg and Āndhra kingdoms on the other hand. This region was inhabited by the barbarous race. He established his sway over the region and recruited his soldiers from the tribe inhabiting it—the tribe which had sturdy youths full of fighting spirit. The "old dame and the child" incident (p. 167 above), which took place in about A. M. 154=373 B. C., incited Chāṇakya to take the next step.

The region under Chandragupta's power was surrounded by three big kingdoms of Magadha, Kaliṅga and Āndhra (vol. I, Map no. 54). Though all the three kings were powerful, yet the comparatively weak king was the Āndhra, whose territory also was smaller than that of the other two. Again the king, Vaśiṣṭhaputri Kanha-Kṛṣṇa, the third in the line, was very old and rather unpopular among his own people, because he had usurped the throne by driving out the rightful heir, who was the son of his own nephew the second Āndhra king, Yagnaśri Gautamiputra by the queen Nāganikā. Taking all these things into consideration, Chāṇakya gathered together his army under Chandragupta and invaded his territory. The Āndhra king was

killed in the battle. Chāṇakya, however, did not annex the territory to that of Chandragupta but proclaimed the son of Nāganikā as the king[1] and thus won the love of the people. This conquest encouraged them very much and they began to devise ways for the invasion over Magadh. They took the wise step of combining their own forces with that of the Kaliṅga king by concluding a pact of mutual help with him. Vakragrīva, the king of Kaling was powerful and cherished the desire of taking revenge over the emperor of Magadh for the insult that was inflicted by the former Magadha emperor by carrying away the gold idol from his forefathers[2]. Hence they combined their armies and marched over Magadh. The result of the conflict is well-known (vol. I., pp. 357 and vol. II pp. 167 and further). Thus the Nanda dynasty ended in A. M. 155=B. C. 372 and Chandragupta became the emperor of Magadh. We have already described, under what circumstances Vakragrīva died while dividing the spoils of the war[3]. The victory over Nand IX gained Chandragupta the whole of northern India. His power was already established over Āndhra. The successor of Vakragrīva was so disheartened by the death of his father (Vol. IV, for his account) that Chandragupta easily conquered that country also. Hence we can say without exaggeration that Chandragupta became the emperor of the whole of India by about B. C. 362=A. M. 165.

After thus having brought the whole of India under his power, Chāṇakya busied himself with compiling the marvellous treatise

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(1) This may be due to two reasons:—(1) It may have been a custom in those times not to annex the kingdom, the heir to which may have been alive; or (2) Chāṇakya must have intended to win popularity there. We cannot say, which of these was the major reason. Chāṇakya attempted to introduce the unitary form of government in order to limit the power of kings. For this reason, he addressed Chandragupta as a Vṛṣala. He was not entirely successful in his aim.

(2) At that time the idol was in possession of the king of Kaliṅg. (Details about this event are given in the Hāthīgumfā Inscriptions. Vol. IV, the account of Khārvel; vol. I., pp. 171 and pp. 350).

(3) Pp. 168, f. n. no. 15 above.

on economics . Though a detailed account of the book would be a digression here, yet we shall here take stock of the doctrines and ways that contributed to, and maintained the solidarity of the empire.

At the beginning of his rule, there prevailed a famine in the country; and when his reign was about to end, famine was again looming large over northen India. When he became emperor, he had little wealth to boast of. He had generously allowed Nand IX to carry away a large amount of wealth with him. Thus right from the beginning, the financial condition of the empire was always unsound and strait. Means and ways had to be devised to procure money to keep the machinery of administration going on smoothly. Sources of revenue had to be found out without over-taxing the people[5]. Both he and Chāṇakya had thus passed through the thick and thin of life. Rich with such wide and varied experience, they put their heads together and chalked out a net-work of rules and regulations based on sound economic and political doctrines[6]. The result was the immortal treatise, 'Arthaśāstra.'

The " Arthaśāstra " is, in many ways, an original contribution to the world of thought. It was the outcome of the variegated experience of Chāṇakya, who was himself a close disciple of the prime-minister of Nand IX[7]. The father of the whole science was however Śreṇik[8], the builder of the guilds. Little wonder it is, that the most of the doctrines stated in the " Arthaśāstra " obtain even to-day, with a little change here and there.

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(4) Cf. Pp. 167, f. n. no. 9 above.

(5) Some writers have said that he hoarded wealth even by persecuting the people in many ways. (Pp. 169-170 above). This does not seem to be true. The statement seems to have been made to justify the meaning of "Kauṭilya."

(6) That is why the book is called "Ākaraḥ sarvaśāstrāṇām." Pp. 175. and pp. 195 to 204 above.

(7) Vol. I., pp. 337 and further, where details are given about akaḍāl,

According to his doctrines, Chāṇakya was inclined towards the centralization of power, and give a wide birth to the system of autonomous provinces within a federal form of government. He was not wholly successful in this. He sometimes indulged in the pleasure of calling Chandragupta, "Vṛṣala" for this reason[10]. Again he was also strongly inclined to change the seat of the capital, but he hesitated to put into practice this idea involving a great change. Hence, he sought a compromise in the formula that while the king stayed in the capital proper, the heir-apparent should stay at Avanti, where it was his intention to have the seat of the capital, because it was situated in the centre of the empire and because it was gifted in many ways by nature. The heir-apparent was, however, only eight years old at this time and hence could not be sent to Avanti as its governor. Hence it was decided that the king himself should stay for some time in Magadh and for some time in Avanti every year. In Ujjaini, the capital of Avanti, royal palaces were built for this purpose[11]. Thus Ujjaini, which was the prosperous capital of the kings of the Pradyota dynasty and which had lost its importance when Avanti was annexed to the Magadh by Nand I, once more was received as an important seat of the capital[12], in about 362 B. C. In southern India, over the provinces which were formerly under the power of the Āndhra and the Kaliṅga kings, Mauryan chiefs were appointed as governors. The Kadamba, Cholā, Pāṇḍya and other chiefs[13], who were, like the Mauryas, the descendants of the Lichchhavī clan, were continued as rulers of the territories which were already under their power. In the Telugu books of

(8) Vol. I., pp. 254 to 257, and their footnotes.

(9) Pp. 170 and pp. 372 and pp. 389 f. n. no. 1.

(10) Cf. f. n. no. 1 on pp. 389 and pp. 149, f. n. no. 26; pp. 170.

(11) Vol. I. pp. 177.

(12) Vol. I. pp. 179.

(13) Vol. I. pp. 295, and pp. 347 to 349; pp. 352 & seq.

of the Madras presidency they are called "New Mauryas"[14]. Thus the idea of delineating responsibility and of the division of labour was first introduced by Chandragupta, though it originated during the time of Nandivardhan.

One thing remains to be mentioned before we close the account of Chandragupta. His first years were passed under great stress and strain. Hence, after his conquests were consolidated and the administrative machinery began to run smoothly, his mind began to be inclined towards renunciation of worldly affairs. The two famines during his rule[15] added to this and strengthened his inclination. So he had gone on a pilgrimage to Vimalāchalagiri in Saurāṣṭra, the holiest mount of the Jains. The ascent to the mount did not begin at Pālitāṇā as it does at present. The Vimalāchal was yet united with the Raivatagiri[16] and the common ascent to both of them began near Jirṇadūrga—Junāgaḍh. For the facility of the pilgrims, he got a great lake dug at the foot, namely the Sudarśan[17], in about B. C. 363=A. M. 164. On his return to Ujjain, he dreamt several dreams while sleeping in his palace. He recounted them to his preceptor Bhadrabāhu, the Śrutakevalī. According to his advice, he renounced the world and got himself ordinated[18]. Then he went to Śravaṇ Belgol in the south, which was under his power[19]. How he spent the rest of his life is already described in the foregoing pages.

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(14) Vol. I. pp. 288, f. n. no. 55.

(15) Vide his account above.

(16) Pp. 180 above and the paragraph, "Though eternal yet in the clutches of time."

(17) Pp. 179 and further above, and the paragraph "Chandragupta's devotedness to religion."

(18) See the life of Chandragupta and specially the paragraph "The cause of the abdication of the throne." on pp. 192.

(19) This supplies us with the proof that southern India was under the power of Chandragupta.

## 2. BINDUSĀR

Bindusār ascended the throne immediately, after the ordination of Chandragupta. The latter died twelve years later; but during these twelve years he kept himself quite aloof from the affairs of the kingdom because Jaina monks are prohibited by a religious edict from taking any part in worldly affairs. Bindusār's rule therefore lasted from B. C. 358 to 330.

Bindusār was fourteen—the age of discretion in those times—when he ascended the throne. He conducted the affairs of the administration in conformity with the advice of Chāṇakya, who shielded his defects arising from feebleness of body and other infirmities. As long as Chāṇakya was alive, Bindusār's sovereignty over the whole of India continued unimpaired. During the 9th year of his reign, however, Chāṇakya died (B. C. 350) and Subandhu—formerly a minister—was appointed in his place. He was jealous of his predecessor, but did not introduce any changes as long as Chandragupta was alive even as a monk. When he died in 346 B. C., all the restrictive and wholesome influence was removed from his path. The inefficient and unwise rule of both the minister and the king, began to have its weakening effect on the integrity of the empire. The fourth Āndhra king who was a vassal of Chandragupta (Coins Nos. 67–68), declared himself independent. The Cholās, the Pāṇdyas and others in the further south broke their allegiance to Magadh and probably submitted to the power of the Āndhra king, as the coins found on the west coast show. Even Kaliṅg was under his power. In short, the whole of southern India was wrested from the Magadha empire, by about B. C. 348 to 346. Even over northern India, the hold of the empire had begun to weaken and he would have lost it also; but the custom of appointing governors over Avanti saved him from this catastrophe. The heir-apparent stayed in the capital to help his father in administration, but the brightest of his sons, Aśoka, was appointed as governor over Avanti. He rigidly maintained authority over Avanti and Saurāṣṭra. The kṣatriya chiefs of the Punjāb had already begun to create dis-

turbances; and had they made a united effort, Bindusār could not have subdued them. They, however, quarrelled among themselves and the Punjāb was again in a state of turmoil and agitation. Bindusār sent his eldest son and heir-apparent Suṣima to suppress the rebellions. He successfully suppressed them and having established peace, returned to Magadh. Three years later in 331-0 B. C., there again broke out riots in the Punjāb and Suṣima was sent again. This time he was murdured there. When this sad news reached the king, he forthwith sent Asoka to establish quiet there. Aśoka took action with a firm hand and peace was established once more in the Punjāb. This incident so much excited Bindusār that the artery in his brain burst, causing his death (B. C. 330).

## 3. AŚOKAVARDHAN

Upto this time, it has been a general belief that Aśoka weilded sway over the largest empire of all the emperors. This requires correction as we shall just now see.

When Bindusār died, only northern India was under the power of Magadh, while southern India was under the rule of the Āndhra king. Even in northern India, the power was not very firm and especially it was so in the Punjāb. Aśoka ascended the throne in such circumstances.

Hearing of the weak rule of Bindusār, Alexander the Great had invaded India and had crushed the Persian Empire while on his way to India. We have already given details about this on p. 211 to 221. Taking advantage of the riotous condition of the Punjāb, he marched forward and came to the western boundary of India in B. C. 328. His progress into the interior was checked by Aśoka, who was sent there to suppress the rebellion. But Alexander was no common raider or invader. He persuaded king Āmbhi of Taxilā to accept his suzerainty and marched into the territory of Paurus; though Paurus offered brave resistance, yet at last he was defeated and the Greek Emperor's power was established over his territory. At last in B. C. 327 he confronted Aśoka on the banks of the Sutlej. Thus we can see that the

north-west portion of the empire was yet to be recovered from the hands of a powerful foe, when Aśoka ascended the throne.

Alexander had hitherto fought against and defeated smaller chiefs like Āmbhi and Paurus. The meeting of the Greek emperor with Aśoka, has been described on p. 213. It shows that his policy of acquiring territory must have been that of bluff. Hence, when he found tougher material in Aśoka, he seems to have decided to stop further progress in India. The Greek historians have stated that the main cause of this retreat was, that the Greek soldiers were tired of their stay in India—they had already been here for seven years and that the Indian climate did not suit them at all. This hastened his departure. On the way to Greece, many of his soldiers died. Shortly after this, Alexander also died. The route selected by him at this time was different from the one selected on his entry to India and this route was longer and full of difficulties. Why did he do so, when the delapidated condition of his army required speediest return by the shortest and the safest route? The reason may have been that while setting out towards India he must have given to his soldiers a glorious description of India and must have induced them to accompany him, telling him that the conquest was not difficult. In India, however, he found that his ambition, strengthened by his easy victory over the Persians, would be far from realized. But he did not want to arouse discontent[20] in his army and wanted to persuade them that they had not conquered only a small territory[21]. So the longer route, which was through the territory that belonged to nobody in particular was taken, in order that the soldiers might be satisfied that they had conquered a large territory in India. Be that as it may, we come to the conclusion which concerns us here that Aśoka, at the beginning of his reign, had lost much territory.

After his meeting with Alexander, his coronation ceremony was performed. But it was not his luck to settle down quietly.

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(20) The conquest over Persia was only incidental. His chief aim was to conquer India.

(21) The Greek historians themselves have declared that he took this route in order that there may not be any discontent among his soldiers.

The Greek generals, whom Alexander had left behind him, to rule over the conquered territory, began to quarrel and fight with the native chiefs. In B. C. 317, Paurus was murdured by a Greek general and there broke out a serious riot. Aśoka went to the place, slaughtered the Greek generals, drove Eudemos with bag and baggage out of India and annexed the territory once more to the Magadha empire (B. C. 316). But this did not mean peace of Aśoka. Seleucus, the great and favourite general of Alexander, heard of this massacre. He had established himself as the ruler of Syria after Alexander's death. He led invasions over India one by one. The number of his invasions from B. C. 316 to 304 was eighteen. At last he suffered from a severe defeat at the hands of Aśoka and was forced to enter into a humiliating treaty with him. The four great provinces including Afghanistan were ceded to the Magadha emperor and Seleucus gave his daughter in marriage to Aśoka. This is the first instance of an Indian king having conquered territory outside India.

Thus we see that he was constantly engaged in warfare right from his accession in 330 B. C. to 304 B. C. Neither was his private life happy. His queen-consort, Tiṣyarakṣitā was an intriguing woman of no character. Enraged at her misconduct, he got her burnt alive in a paroxysm of rage and got her daughter, Saṅghamitrā married to a sickly fellow[22]. To show his hatred towards Buddhism, he started the institution called "Narkālay" (Hell-house). The incident of a Buddhist monk being thrown in a pan of boiling oil (p. 241), made him repent for the atrocities perpetrated by him and consequently he closed the "Narkālay." After a short time he convened the third Buddhist Conference at his capital and permitted both his son Mahendra and princess Saṅghamitrā (who had become a widow or as some say, her husband turned out an ascetic two years after her marriage) to be ordinated with great pomp. Then he sent the Bodhi tree to Ceylon with a group of missionaries which travelled by the sea, starting from the mouth of the Mahānadi, which flows into the bay of Bengal. He himself had gone upto the sea-

(22) See below; one of the causes of his early death was this.

shore to see them off. The missionaries did not travel by land because southern India was under the power of the Āndhra king. We have here to bear in mind that historians, taking Aśoka and Priyadarśin to be names of the same individual, have stated that his empire extended up to the southern portion of the Madras presidency, on the authority of the edicts of Siddhāgiri and Brahamagiri in Mysore State, which have been inscribed by Priyadarsin and not by Aśoka. These details lead us to the conclusion that the Magadha empire extended upto the source of the Mahānadi during the reign of Aśoka. And this shows that Aśoka and Priyadarśin are different individuals; otherwise the extents of their empires would not have differed from that of each other. Thus, right from 326 B. C. to 312 B. C. he was entangled in family wrangles. Harassed on the one hand by the invasions of foreigners and by family dissensions on the other, he found little time to reconquer territories lost by his predecessor. It was fortunate that he maintained intact his sway over the provinces he had inherited. He found peace in life, only after his treaty with Seleucus in 304 B. C. During that very year, he heard the joyful news of the birth of Priyadarśin; he met Kuṇāl, his eldest and blind son, after a long time. His mind experienced perfect joy and peace and he decided to proclaim his infant-grandson as his successor. He relinquished his title as the emperor and began to conduct the affairs of the administration as a regent of the infant emperor. He held this office for fourteen years, during which his sole purpose was to consolidate and to preserve the territory which was already under the empire. Even Buddhist books hold no record of any conquest of his during these years. They tell us that strongly inclined towards religion, he had begun to give large sums, as well as land, in charity. In short, his empire extended only in northern India, during his active rule of 28 years and his regency of 14 years.

Now the reader must have been convinced that the assertion that Aśoka wielded sway over the largest empire of all, which was made in the beginning, requires correction. The assertion seems to have been made on the mistake of identifying Aśoka

with Priyadarśin. As far as Aśoka, however, is concerned, the statement is far from true.

## 4. PRIYADARŚIN

Much does not remain to be written about the conquests or the extent of the territory of Priyadarśin (p. 292 and further). Only a synopsis will be given here.

After his accession to the throne, he conquered countries one by one, which were not under the power of his predecessors. Over the conquered territories he re-instated the defeated kings as his vassals accepting tribute from them. The policy of the centralization of power which was adopted by Chandragupta and Chāṇakya, was also adopted by him with some modifications. Over provinces in India or outside India, which had no vassal kings, he appointed the members of the royal family as governors and instructed them to propagate his faith without persecution. His empire extended upto Tibeṭ, Khoṭan and Asian Turkey in the north, upto Syria and probably Egypt in the west and upto Cape Comorin in the south. We do not know whether he had tried to conquer Ceylon, Burma, Sumātra or Jāvā, or to propagate his faith there.

If research is further pushed in this direction, new things may come to light as they did in the case of the famous Chinese wall.

The map indicating the extent of the territory of Priyadarśin is an eloquent testimony of the fact that his empire was the vastest of all the emperors that ruled over India and that it is fitly described as the epoch-making period in Indian history. Again, his reign was the longest of all the emperors, except one or two. People were happy, prosperous and inclined to religion in his time, thus establishing him as the greatest sovereign[23]. The policy adopted by him as a king is worthy of imitation by

(23) We have to draw the attention of the reader to a passage quoted from H. G. Wells, from his article in "Strand", of Sept. 1922, (p. 216), and also to the extract quoted from Sriyut Vidyābhuṣaṇ Alaṅkāraji's book on p. 343 to p. 345.

all. A study of the reasons of the downfall of the Mauryan empire will prove this clearly.

Being mainly concerned in this chapter, with the extent of his territory, it would rather be a digression to touch the question of his policy. But it is closely associated with the expansion of his empire. Hence, we shall discuss it here, specially with reference to foreign invaders.

The following were the causes which induced the foreigners to invade India:—(1) They may have come here to satisfy their curiosity of visiting a new country and to satisfy their desire of plundering as much money as possible, (2) Their intention may have to conquer territory and establish their reign in India or to bring Indian chiefs under their subjugation and leave them as their vassals on the throne. In the former case, there is little possibility of the mingling of the civilizations of the invaders and the invaded; while in the latter case, the two civilizations cannot help having repercussions on each other. In course of time, both of them get so interwoven that it is difficult to classify which phase belongs to which. Again, only those phases of any of the two survive in the long run, which have a wider and more constant appeal; consequently, raids with a view to plunder and depart are forgotten in the course of time; while those with a view to permanent settlement in the conquered territory are not forgotten, because of the long-lasting influence of the culture of the conquering people over the conquered. The first invasion of this kind was by Alexander in B. C. 327. His intention in doing so, becomes clear from the following words already once quoted (pp. 341); "Alexander's expedition was an organized one and had historians, geographers, scientists, merchants etc. One object of Alexander's conquest was to spread Greek civilization abroad." He changed his intention on the way[24] to India and his original aim was never realised[25].

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(24) The cause of this change also requires study. Read further for that.

(25) He must have imagined that he would be able to conquer Indian kings in the same way he did Ambhi. This already received a setback in the cause of Paurus, and Aśoka completely changed his ideas; he could not bluff him into submission.

The same writer has made this clear in the following passage already once quoted (pp. 341)." The Indians probably regarded Alexander as a mighty robber and his expeditions and conquests as a political hurricane. India was not changed, India was not Hellinized." Thus Alexander was not successful either in establishing Greek civilization in India or in conquering a territory and establishing his permanent power over it. His generals ruled a small territory for only 25 years after his departure. After their being massacred and driven out by Aśoka, India was immune from foreign invasion for nearly 125 years. No doubt, there were petty raids but the raiders were nearly always defeated. Sometimes some of them came and did settle in India, not however as victors and introducers of a new culture, but as mergers and students of Indian culture. For the first 40 years out of this 125 years, there was a constant flow of foreigners in India. But after that Priyadarśin's power reached as its zenith. He sent his missionaries to the countries of all these invaders and these missionaries disclosed to them the gospel of Jainism and initiated them into real culture and civilization. This caused a vast change[26] in the modes of their lives and the above writer has said[27], "One object of Alexander's conquest was to spread Greek civilization abroad: but we regret to see that he himself and his men were orientalized in Persia." The Persian culture was Indian in origin and Persia was under the power of the kings of the Raghu and the Yadu dynasties. Thus Alexander's aim was defeated; he became the disciple of the country of which it was his ambition to become the teacher in matters of culture and when he returned to Greece he was fully imbibed with all the main points of Indian culture. Thus, wherever the foreigners[28] came into contact with Indians, they

(26) Read f. no. above.

(27) This statement is concerned with the consequences of Alexander's invasion. The Persians had imbibed the Indian culture, long before the invasion of the Greek emperor. So, at the time of his invasion the same culture had the hold over the Persians.

(28) For details and proofs about this, the reader is referred to the chapters under the general heading "Foreign Invaders". Their coins also show that they have always imbibed Indian culture whenever they settled in India.

always had to bow to the superiority of the Indian civilizations and accept and imbibe them as much as possible. Their own coins furnish ample evidence in support of this[29]. Some might argue that the foreign invaders acted in this manner with a view to reconcile the defeated Indians to their rule. In answer to this, we shall rest content with asking them two questions:—(1) Have they made a thorough study of the psychology of conquerors? (2) Whose ways are introduced in general life, those of the strong or of the weak[30]?

The foreign invaders always adopted the policy of settling[31] in India whenever they found possible to do so. Settling requires land; hence the territory of Indian rulers was diminished in area. The foreigners were attracted to India mainly due to the superiority of Indian culture to theirs; but the material prosperity of India played a considerable part in these settlements.

We have thus clearly shown how the two civilizations influenced each other during the 125 years beginning with the invasion of Alexander in 327 B. C. The reader will see that foreign hosts came to India in great numbers during this period[32].

By this time it must have become quite clear to the readers why foreigners were so eager to invade and settle in India. Whenever they heard of internal dissensions in India, they never missed to take advantage of the opportunity. One of such opportunities was afforded to them, shortly after the death of Priyadarśin, when his sons quarrelled among themselves. Another opportunity came at the end of the Śuṅga dynasty when people were quite dissatisfied with and harassed by vicious and weak

(29) Was the success of the missionaries of Priyadarśin due to their large number or due to the superiority of their civilizations?

(30) F. n. nos. 29 & 25.

(31) The next volume contains the account of the rule of five foreign dynasties. All the accounts will prove the same fact.

(32) The merits of a thing prove advantageous or disadvantageous to itself according to the contingencies of time.

rulers. Details about this will be given in the account of the Śuṅga dynasty.

One thing deserves notice here. Indian kings followed the policy of reinstating the defeated king on the throne as their vassal. The foreigners on the other hand required land to settle in India and consequently drove out the defeated Indian king or killed him and established themselves as rulers of the territory. In course of time, even Indian rulers adopted this policy.

After the death of Priyadarśin internal dissensions were rife in the whole of India, due to the policy of religious persecution and want of union among his sons. As a result the Mauryan power collapsed. The territories under the sway of the empire, which were outside India were reconquered by the foreigners. The governors of various provinces declared themselves as independent rulers of the provinces over which they were appointed. Thus the power of the successors of Priyadarśin became only nominal. At last, within a short time, the dynasty ended when the Śuṅga general killed its last ruler, as has been already described.

# Appendix

In "Paḍakār", Aug. 1936, a monthly published from Baroda, has appeared an article which gives support to my contention that Sandrecottus was not Chandragupta, but was Aśoka.

Megasthenes was the Greek ambassador at the court of Sandrecottus. Scholars have hitherto identified Sandrecottus with Chandragupta. I differ from this. If we identify Sandrecottus with Chandragupta, we shall have to agree to the fact that Megasthenes and Chāṇakya were contemporaries. I have proved on the authority of irrefutable pieces of evidence that it is not so and that Sandrecottus was none other than Aśoka. (Pp. 152 to 163 and pp. 199 f. n. no. 26). On pp. 198, I have quoted a passage from the author of M. S. I. stating his doubt about Chāṇakya and Megasthenes having been contemporaries. The writer of the article in "Paḍakār"

has raised the same doubts. Many other writers must have got the doubt about it. I have discussed this question at some length on pp. 159 to pp. 163. The following are the arguments given by the writer[1] of the article in "Padakār" against the theory of taking Chāṇakya and Megasthenes as contemporaries.

Chāṇakya has compiled the treatise named "Arthaśāstra". Megasthenes has written an account of the India of his own time. The descriptions given by them of various conditions prevailing in their times do not agree. Here are some of the instances. In the first place Megasthenes had made no mention at all of Chāṇakya. A detailed study of Arthaśāstra gives altogether different picture of the culture and civilization of India from that given by Megasthenes. For instance:–(1) According to Megasthenes fortresses and cities were built of wood; according to Chāṇakya they were made of bricks. (2) Buddhism has been respectfully treated by Megasthenes and Buddha has been praised in high terms by him. Chāṇakya's treatise makes no reference to Buddhism except in three words, namely, " Pāṣanda ", " Śākyajivan " and " Śramaṇ ". The word " Pāsanda " means the Buddhist Ksapaṇaks whom Chāṇakya has treated contemptuously. He has said that they and "Chaṇḍālas" should have their residence near the cemetery. "Śākyas" were also Buddhists. It has been stated in Arthaśāstra that those who gave food to them in performing oblations to their forefathers, would be fined 100 Paṇas. "Śramaṇ" has been treated with equal contempt by him. (3) Megasthenes has made clear reference to milestones on the roads, while Chāṇakya does not refer to them at all in his description of the roads. (4) Megasthenes has stated that only the king had the right to possess elephants and horses. Chāṇakya's book contains no such rule, though he has written in details about the horses. (5) According to the Greek ambassador the people had an easy access to the king; Chāṇakya had always warned the kings to keep the populace at an arm's length. (6) The forests and the hunting methods have

(1) The writer is Mr. Ratilāl Kalādhar Bhaṭṭ. His article certainly deserves the attention of all the students of history.

been differently described by them. (7) Slavery was non-existent in India according to the former; Chāṇakya has given a detailed account of it (8) Chāṇakya's detailed account of the espionage organization falsifies the statement of Megasthenes that people dared not commit any crimes whatsoever. (9) Over and above these, both the books differ widely from each other in their accounts, of administrative methods, of economic conditions, of local bodies, of assemblies and of many other things.

These details prove that Chāṇakya and Megasthenes were not contemporaries.

# Dynastic Lists

N. B.—If figures mentioned here differ from those mentioned in the text, they require correction and further investigation.

| No | Name | A. M. | to | A. M. | years | | B. C. | to | B. C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Chandragupta | 146 | „ | 155 = | 9½ | = 23½ | 381 | „ | 372 |
| | | 155 | „ | 169 = | 14 | | 372 | „ | 358 |
| 2 | Bindusār | 169 | „ | 197 = | 27½ | | 358 | „ | 330 |
| 3 | Aśoka | 197 | „ | 237 = | 40½ | | 330 | „ | 289 |
| 4 | Priyadarśin or Samprati or Indrapālit | 237 | „ | 291 = | 53½ | | 289 | „ | 236 |
| 5 | Vṛṣabhasen or Subhāgsen | 291 | „ | 300 = | 9 | | 236 | „ | 227 |
| 6 | Puṣpadharman | 300 | „ | 307 = | 7 | | 227 | „ | 220 |
| 7 | Devadharman | 307 | „ | 314 = | 7 | | 220 | „ | 213 |
| 8 | Śātadharman | 314 | „ | 316 = | 2 | | 213 | „ | 211 |
| 9 | Bṛhadrath | 316 | „ | 323 = | 7 | | 211 | „ | 204 |
| | | | | | 177 | | | | |

The Maurya dynasty has really lasted for 178 years but deducting the period of 8 years, for which king Chandragupta has ruled over some territory outside the province of Magadh, it could be said to have ruled for 170 years as sovereigns of the Magadha empire.

× × × ×

N. B. Dates in A. M. and B. C. calculations seem to vary owing to two causes.

(1) When an event has occurred either in the last 3 months of a B. C. epoch or in the first 3 months of an A. M. epoch, there is always a difference of one number in expressing the figures on either side (e. g. f. n. 15 pp. 146).

(2) When a king has ruled for 23 years and three months, he is said to have ruled for 24 years; similarly 16 years are stated for one, who has ruled for 15 years and 4 months. Thus, when both 24+16 put together, will amount to 40; but the period covered over is, in reality, only 38 years and 7 months. (e. g. f. n. 55 pp. 154, f. n. * on pp. 147 accounting for the total period of 177 instead of 179.)

× × × × ×

Though we are not concerned with a dynasty of Ceylonese kings, we have tried to formulate & reproduce one as under, as it is useful to fix the time of several events occurred during the Mauryan rule.

## Kings of Ceylon

| | | A.M. | to | A.M. | years | B.C. | to | B.C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | Vijay | 6 | to | 44 | 38 | 520 | to | 482 |
| (2) | Period of misrule | 44 | to | 45 | 1 | 482 | to | 481 |
| (3) | Pāṇḍuvās | 45 | to | 75 | 30 | 481 | to | 451 |
| (4) | Abhay | 75 | to | 95 | 20 | 451 | to | 431 |
| (5) | Pankuḍak (robber) | 95 | to | 159 | 64 | 431 | to | 368 |
| (6) | Muṭāsīv | 159 | to | 218 | 59 | 368 | to | 309 |
| (7) | Period of misrule | 218 | to | 223 | 6 | 309 | to | 303 |
| (8) | Tissā | 223 | to | 263 | 40 | 303 | to | 263 |
| (9) | Uttiya | 263 | to | 273 | 10 | 263 | to | 253 |

# Chronology

N. B. Simple figures mentioned against the events show the pages and figures in brackets, the pages of the foot-notes, on which their description is given; when two dates of an event are probable, the one doubtful is bracketted; approximate dates are treated as circa; while those which are doubtful are marked as ?

| B. C. | B. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| 3250 | 2750 | Supposed time of Mohan-jā-dero ruins 59, (For my views, see under B. C. 534) |
| 9th & 10 cent. | | Existence of authors of Śrutis 4 |
| 9th cent. | | Animal sacrifices were in full swing 4 |
| 877 | 350 | Birth of Pārśvanāth (3) |
| 8th cent. | | Causes of births of great men 3: incident of ascetic Kamaṭh 3 |
| 668 | 141 | Beginning of Anjan era (7) |
| 600 | 73 | Birth of Lord Buddha 8, 11 |
| 598-9 | 72 | Birth of Lord Mahāvīr 8, 11 |
| 571 | 44 | Buddha's great renunciation 8; Siddhārth renounced the world 9; Buddha's renunciation (at the age of 29) 11 |
| 571-564 | | Buddha did not preach at all, upto this time according to the Buddhist books 9 |
| 571-520 | | Buddha never saw Mahāvīr during this time 19 |
| 569 | 42 | Mahāvīr renounced the world 181; Mahāvīr entered the holy order ( 568; 8, 11 at his age of 30 ). |
| 564 | 37 | Buddha began to preach 8; king Bimbisār of Magadh was converted to Buddhism 10; Kṣemā, Queen of Bimbisār, became a Buddhist nun 10; Siddhārth's father, mother, wife and son became his disciples (9) |

| B. C. | B. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| 556 | 29 | Mahāvīr attained Kaivalya (at the age of 42) 8, 11, 46; coins, bearing serpent should be dated anterior to this, 46; coins struck by Chaṇḍapradyot of Avanti to commemorate Mahāvīr's attaining Kaivalya 85 |
| 6th cent. | | King Prasenjit of Kośal contemporary with Jaina monk Keśi 5, (5); Time of the prophets Mahāvīr and Buddha 5 |
| 6th cent. | | Observatories already found to exist in India 369 |
| 5th cent. | | Śakas settled in Rajputana and Sind 376 |
| (after) 556 | 39 | Beginning of punch-marked coins 42; king Śreṇik made guilds 42; 40; (6th cent.) |
| 543 | 16 | Buddha's nirvāṇ 9 (at the age of 57) near Gaya, 11, 14, 154; ( **554**; 8 ) attainment of knowledge; beginning of Buddha era 151 (151); reckoning of Buddha era in S. India 8 (232) (for N.-India see 520): [ **541** (13) ] according to some; |
| 534 | 7 | Destruction of Vīttabhaya-paṭṭaṇ 59 (at the site of the ruins of Mohan-jā-ḍero, so the ruins may be said to have been 2534 years old) |
| 529 | 2 | Beginning of the reign of king Ajātśatru (238) Ajātśatru came to the throne [ **528** (7) ] |
| 527-6 | 0 | Death of Mahāvīr 7, (7), 8, (13) at the age of 72; 11, 151 |
| | A. M. | |
| 527-515 | 1-12 | Sudharmā, first in descent from Mahāvīr (26) |
| 523 | 4 | Commencement of the 5th Āra in the Avasarpiṇi cycle 181 |
| 520 | 7 | Death of Buddha 7, (7), 154; (at the age of 80) 9, 11, in Kuśinārā nagar; parinirvāṇ 8; Reckoning of Buddha era in N. India 8 (232) |
| 520-482=38 yrs. | | King Vijay of Ceylon (238) |
| 515-507 | 12-20 | Jambu, 2nd in descent from Mahāvīr (26) |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| 496 | 31 | Commencement of king Udāyan's reign over Magadh (238) |
| 496–472=24 | yrs. | Udayāśva of Magadh; His coins 95 |
| 490–460=30 | „ | Maṇiprabh of Avanti; His coins 89 |
| 482–481=1 | 45 | Misrule in Ceylon(238) |
| 481–451=30 | yrs. | King Pāṇḍuvās of Ceylon (238) |
| 477 | 50 | Foundation of the city of Ośia 174 |
| 472 | 55 | Beginning of the reign of Nandivardhan (238) Nand I came to the throne 150<br>Beginning of cast coins 43; According to C. J. B. as early as the 5th Cent. (43), cast coins during the 5th & 4th cent 63 |
| 467 | 60 | Famine recorded in Magadh (26) and canal dug ( first of its kind in history ) from the Ganges 26 (see also 463). Necessity of the art of writing felt 27<br>Coins of Nandivardhan, after annexation of Kauśāmbī and Avanti with Magadh 87 |
| 463 | 64 | Nirvāṇ of Jambu, second in descent from Mahāvīr 181; Digging of the canal (see also 467) by Emp. Nandivardhan as stated in the Hāthigumphā cave 181; deterioration of the retentive faculty of men (182) |
| 451–431=20 | yrs. | King Abhay of Ceylon (238) |
| 432–350=82 | „ | Chāṇakya's time (his age being 82) (207) |
| 431–368=64 | „ | Pankudak, robber king of Ceylon (238) |
| 427–417=10 | „ | Agnimitra Nand; his coins 133; Nand II to Nand VIII; their coins 71 |
| 427–403=23 | „ | Śrimukh, the founder of the Andhra dynasty; his coins 105 |
| 424 | 103 | Hāthigumfā incription contains Mahāvīr era figure of 103 (83) |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| 420 | 107 | Time of Mūlānand and Chuṭukānand on the authority of coins 99. Initial Andhra kings, their (1st and 2nd) coins 97 |
| 416 | 111 | Hāthigumfā inscription engraved by Khārvel 27 |
| 415 | 112 | Books written by Emp. Khārvel 27: Pāṇini wrote his grammar 27; (see under 4th cent.) |
| 414–372=42 | yrs. | Nand IX; his coins 71 |
| 404–384=20 | „ | Gautamiputra Yagña Śri, 2nd Andhra king (his coins for 404 to 396 pp. 101, 112 & 113; see corrections) |
| 4th or 3rd cent. | | Books may have been written (6) |
| 397 | 130 | Birth of Chandragupta Maurya 158 |
| 387 | 140 | Varāhamihir, astrologer, according to Jaina books (269); (opinion of the Vedic books, see 6th & 5th cent. A. D. (**150**; (30) |
| 384 | 143 | Fourth Āndhra king, only 10 months on the throne; coins of the time 113 |
| 382 | 145 | Beginning of the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, as king of a small territory (238); from 381 to 372 pp. 383, (167); from 381 to 373 pp 153, 155<br>Chandragupta as an emperor 372 to 358 pp. 383 |
| 381–358=24 | yrs. | Chandragupta's total reign 146 |
| 381–204=177 | „ | Duration of the Mauryan dynasty 145; (duration from 372 to 204 on pp. 144) |
| 377 | 150 | Śakdāl, the prime minister of Nand IX was killed by his son Śriyak at his own suggestion 152; Sthūlibhadra entered the Jaina holy order (152)<br>Commencement of 12 year famine in Magadh (178) [**374**; (178)]; this famine was very dire from 377 to 367 pp. 169 (169) |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| 376-346=30 yrs. | | 4th Andhra king; his coins 111 |
| 373 | 154 | Chandragupta invaded Andhra ( Vidarbhapati) 190. The time of incident of "Old dame and the child" advising Chāṇakya 388 |
| 372-358=14 yrs. | | Chandragupta, only as Mauryan emperor over Magadh 146, 153 (Emperor over Magadh from 372 on pp. 144, 145); 151 |
| 372 | 155 | Existence of observatories proved before, 369 Chandragupta defeated Nand IX and became emperor of Magadh 168; Chāṇakya alive 174 The end of the Nanda dynasty 289 Vakragrīv, emperor of Kaliṅg died of poison from Viṣa-kanyā's hands 168 |
| 372-316=56 yrs. | | Fourth Andhra king : his coins of the time from 346 to 316 : 57 |
| 371 | 156 | Sambhūtivijay died (178) & Bhadrabāhu installed in his place Partaking of meals of two Jaina monks of Emp. Chandragupta's dishes; 12 year famine severest at this time [ (**370**); (178) ]. Birth of Bindusār 204 [ (**370**; Chandragupta's chief queen became pregnant 176; birth of Bindusār 177 (why he was so named). |
| 371-357 | 156-170 | Time of Bhadrabāhu (the religious preceptor of Emp. Chandragupta) (26), 152 Spread of Buddhism in India upto this time 18 |
| 368-309=59 yrs. | | King Mūṭāśiv of Ceylon (238) |
| 367 | 160 | Probable date of compilation of Arthaśāstra by Chāṇakya (170) : [ (367 to 359 on pp. (191) ] |
| 367-362 | 160-165 | Date of Sudarśan lake inscription (180) Chandragupta got Sudarśan lake dug out near Junāgaḍh in circa 363 : 392 |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| 362 | | Chandragupta practically brought the whole of India under his sway 389 |
| cir; 362 | | Ujjain restored its importance 391 |
| 358–330=28 yrs. | | Time of Bindusār 146, 204, 383, 393 : his coins (from 358–344), pp. 101 |
| | | Abdication of Chandragupta (155); he entered the holy order 157 : ( **357** Chandragupta abdicated his throne in favour of his son Bindusār 155 ) |
| 357 | 170 | Death of Bhadrabāhu 156, 157, 193 : Sthūlibhadra became the religious preceptor, 7th in decent from Mahāvīr (27) |
| 352 | 175 | Probable birth of Emp. Aśoka : 205, *227*, 366 |
| 350 | 177 | Probable date of Chāṇakya's death (207); 393: Tiṣya alias Mādhavasimh, brother of Aśoka was born (235) [ **350**; birth of Tissā (father of Daśarath ? and brother of Aśoka (240) ] |
| (by) 348–6 | | Southern India was lost by Bindusār 393 |
| 345 | 182 | Chandragupta died 12 years after the Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu 155, 159, 193 : after an ascetic life of 12 years, 155 : at his age of 52, on pp. 158 (at his age of 62 on pp. 156 : this is wrong) (**346** : 157, 393) |
| 338 | 189 | Aśoka appointed governor of Avanti at his age of 14; 230, 366 (**339**, 210) |
| | | Aśoka married Vaiśya girl, the mother of Prince Kuṇāl, 230 (**335**, 366) |
| 337 | 190 | Birth of Prince Kuṇāl; 336, 236, (236), (259) 356 (Suyasa alias Kuṇāl was born **336** (236); (**334**, 366). |
| 336 | 191 | Aśoka married Tiṣyarakṣitā 231; (**337**, 366) (**333**, 366) : **330** Aśoka is said to have married Tiṣyarakṣitā (365) |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| 335 | 192 | King Āmbhi and Pauras rebelled 210<br>Birth of Prince Mahendra 231 [ **332**, birth of Prince Mahendra (236), 237, 356, 365, 366, death in 254 at his age of 78 (236) ] |
| 334 | 193 | First rebellion in the Pūnjāb during Bindusār's reign (216) |
| 333 | 194 | Birth of Princess Saṅghamitrā 231 [**330**, birth of Princess Saṅghamitrā (236), 237; death in 253 at her age of 77 on pp. 237 ] |
| 331-250=81 yrs. | | Persia under foreign rule of Alexander, his generals and Emperor Priyadarśin (210) |
| 331 | 196 | End of the Acheimenidāi dynasty of Persia (210) |
| 330 | 197 | Death of Bindusār, 204, 210, 212, 221, 233, 394; Second rising in the Punjab during Bindusār's reign (216) (**331–0**; 324)<br>Daśarath's father (Prince Kuṇāl's younger brother) was born (259); (see under 350; which is probably wrong) |
| 330–289=41 yrs. | | Emp. Aśoka 283, 383, 146, (235) (Aśoka was an uncrowned king from 330 to 326; 226, 366) (Aśoka was an emperor from 326 to 302; 226) |
| 330 | 197 | Aśoka came to the throne; (160), 221, 233 234, 253; Sandrecottus came to the throne 233; Aśoka seized the throne of Magadh (214); Suṣima, heir–apparent to Bindusār was killed (235) |
| 327 | 200 | Alexander the Great came to India 159, 210, 212, 216, 221, 252; Alexander sees Aśoka in his camp 221; Alexander advanced as far as the Sutlej 394; Conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism (243) |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| | | The Vaiśya Queen of Aśoka gave birth to another son (third in number) and perhaps died 356; brother to Kuṇāl was born (231) Disappearance of embossing the religious signs on coins after this time (18) |
| 327–320=7 yrs. | | King Āmbhi's rule as a vassal to the Greek power; his coins 95 |
| 326 | 201 | Incident of lion to Aśoka on his return from Alexander's camp (214)<br>Coronation of Aśoka; 212, (213) (231), 233, (238); 366<br>Alexander turned his back to India in Sept. (245); Alexander left India in **325** on pp. 217, 221; |
| 325–317=8 yrs. | | Emperor of Magadh is said to have not put his foot in the Punjab during this time (219) |
| 324 | 203 | Eudamos appointed to the command of the Punjab 221; his time from 324–317=8 yrs (220) Alexander's general, Phillip was murdered by some of his troops and Eudamos appointed in his stead. 217, 221 |
| 323 | 204 | Alexander died 157, 212; in June (212); (214) 215, 217, 221 |
| 322 | 205 | Foundation of Council by the Greek generals (214); rebellions of the Greek generals and their slaughter 221<br>First rising in the Punjab during Aśoka's reign (216); incident of elephant to Aśoka (214) Seleucus ascended the throne (253); he established his authority over Syria 221 in **321**; (Its mention as 313 in Vol. I pp. 100 is now taken to be wrong; so also his date 331 to 280 on pp. 215); beginning of the Selucide dynasty (215) |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| 321 | 206 | Amended partition of the Greek territories formed at Triparadeisos 218; |
| 321–312 | 206–215 | Rebellions in the Punjab 215 |
| 319 | 208 | Aśoka burnt Tiṣyarakṣitā alive 235; death of Tiṣyarakṣtā (236)<br>Death of Tissā alias Mādhavsinh, brother of Aśoka, 240 [ **318**; (235) (238) ] |
| 318–299=19 yrs. | | Fifth Āndhra king Mādhariputra Śātakarṇi; his coins 107 |
| 317 | 210 | Greek generals began to quarrel amongst themselves (215); Porus was murdered by Eudamos 218, 396; Second rising in the Punjab during Aśoka's reign (216) Emp. Aśoka drove away the Greeks from India (213)<br>Flight of Eudamos from India 220, 221; fall of the Greek power in India 218, 220, 221 |
| 316 | 211 | Asoka's power was established over the Punjab 221; Princess Saṅghmitrā was married to Agniśarmā 336 (316=5 : 243)<br>(Younger brother of Kuṇāl, 2nd son by the Vaiśya Queen of Aśoka, father of Daśarath king of Magadh, was probably married; see under 314) |
| 316–305=12 yrs. | | Seleucus Necator invaded India fruitlessly for 18 times; 220, 221. (at last he was forced to enter into a treaty in 304, which see) 316 to 304 : 396): Aśoka engaged in family wrangles 397 |
| 314 | 213 | Agniśarmā, husband of Princess Saṅghmitrā and son-in-law to Aśoka became a Buddhist monk; 237 (may be in **312**, 243)<br>Narkālay incident of soothing the boiled oil 243; younger brother of Kuṇāl (2nd son by the Vaiśya queen of Aśoka) probably married 357 (further calculations fix this date as 316) |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Probable birth of Daśarath, grandson of Aśoka and afterwards king of Magadh (259) (**312**, 357) |
| 313 | 214 | Third Buddhist conference held at Pāṭliputra 19, 244, (245)<br>Prince Mahendra and Princess Saṅghmitrā were ordinated in the Buddhist order and a mission was sent to Ceylon under their leadership (245)<br>Bodhi-tree sent to Ceylon 237, (245); establishing the Bo-tree in Ceylon (245); Bodhi-bij established 12 years after the establishment of Bodhi-vṛkṣa 244 |
| 309–303=6 yrs. | | Misrule in Ceylon (238) |
| 305 | 222 | Famine in the districts of Kauśāmbī (290); Emperor Priyadarśin in his past birth of a beggar, was ordinated as a Jaina monk [(**303**; (289)] |
| 304 | 223 | Seleucus made treaty with Aśoka, 28, 159, 221, 246, (247), 253, 397 [**303** (246) according to E. H. I.] and married his daughter with Aśoka 220, 221, 233; Marriage of Aśoka with Asandhimitrā, daughter of Seleucus Nicator 235, (235) (236)<br>Birth of king Samprati alias Priyadarśin, 249, 256, (256) 259, 260, 356 (357); [**303** (259)<br>Aśoka appointed Daśarath as governor of Magadh 239 |
| 304–250 | 223–277 | Daśarath's (?) rule: Daśarath as governor of Magadh from 304 to 277 on pp. 357 [really 304 to 290 he was governor but Emp. Aśoka has acted as regent, both for him and the infant-prince Samprati and as soon as Samprati was crowned in B. C. 290, Daśarath |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| | | ruled over Magadh as its independent king & died in B. C. 250: so his rule really began in 290 & ended in 250=40 years (360) ] |
| 303 | 224 | Ŝi-Hu-Wāng; the Chinese emperor came to the throne 283; his reign lasted from 303 to 267=36 years; possibly after this, mints were founded by Emp. Priyadarŝin 63 |
| 303-263=40 yrs. | | Tissā, king of Ceylon (238) |
| 302-289=13 ,, | | Aŝoka as a regent 226 |
| 302-288=14 ,, | | Megasthenes stayed in India for this period 160 |
| 301 | | Asandhimitrā, daughter of Seleucus & Queen of Aŝoka died 235, (235) 236, 245 |
| 300-250=50 ,, | | King Megus of Syria [262] |
| 299-285=14 ,, | | Sixth Āndhra king, his coins from 299 to 285, 119; from 285 to 281 pp. 111; |
| 3rd cent. | | Earliest lithic records in Tamil country found, 276 |
| 298 | 229 | Aŝoka married the maid-servant of his late Queen Asandhimitrā, 235, (236), (245) : **297** (244). |
| 297 | 230 | The maid-servant of Queen Asandhimitrā raised to the position of Queen-consort by Emp. Aŝoka, a year or so after marriage with her (245) |
| 293 | 234 | Destruction of Bo-tree (244) |
| 291 | 236-7 | Coronation of Emp. Priyadarŝin (256) [ **290** 261 (**271**) (289) (357) ]; beginning of Priyadarŝin's rule 285 [ **289** (238) 313 ] |
| 291-237=54 yrs. | | Emp. Priyadarŝin (290 to 237 pp. 261; 290 to 236 pp. 282 : 289 to 235 pp. 146); his coins (282 to 266 pp. 129) |
| 290-250=40 ,, | | Daŝarath as king of Magadh (360) : his coin (**289**, 131) |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| 289 | 238 | End of Aśoka's reign (244) (his retirement from 289 to 270=19 yrs. pp. 226) |
| 288-7 | | Emp. Priyadarśin became an Upāsak-entrant 291 |
| 287 | 240 | Emp. Priyadarśin saw the Ratha-yātrā-procession and came to know of his former birth 289 |
| 287-284 | 240-243 | Emp. Priyadarśin's conquest tour in western countries 282 |
| 285 | 242 | Emp. Priyadarśin returned from his western tour after 2½ yrs. 292 : Priyadarśin visited Śātrunjaya & Girnār 292 |
| | | Priyadarśin married Chāruvākī (mother of Tiver and Chārumatī) 367 |
| 285-247=38 yrs. | | Turumaya, king of Egypt (262) |
| 284 | 243 | Rising in the Punjāb (276) : probable birth of princess Chārumatī, daughter of Priyadarśin 367 |
| 284-276 | 243-251 | Priyadarśin opened kitchens to prepare food to give to the Jaina monks (311) |
| 283 | 244 | Priyadarśin returned from his southern conquest tour after 2½ yrs. 292 |
| 283-280 | 244-247 | Sudarśan lake repaired by Śāliśuk, governor in Saurāstra & brother of Emp. Priyadarśin 359 |
| 282 | 245 | Priyadarśin finished his conquest tour (262) |
| 281 | 246 | Priyadarśin conquers Kaliṅg 277, 367 : he defeated the 7th Āndhra king 293, 368; Priyadarśin took 8 vows 293; (**280**; 85) |
| | | Death of Ārya Mahāgiri (311) |
| 281-225=56 yrs. | | Seventh Āndhra king : his coins (from 281 to 236 on pp. 111, 115; from 229 to 225 on pp. 107, 109) |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| cir. 280 | | Observatory started at Ujjain by Priyadarśin 369 |
| 280–262=18 yrs. | | Antiochus I, Sorter of Syria (262) |
| 278 | 249 | Si–Hu–Wāng assumed the title of the Chinese emperor during the 25th year of his reign 283 (297) |
| | | Ārya Suhasti, the religious preceptor of Emp. Priyadarśin (26) |
| 277 | 250 | Priyadarśin's first visit to Nepāl [ **276** : (279), 283, 285, 367 ] : he defeated Sthunko, king of Nepāl, 278 & placed Dēvpāl there; Chārumatī was married to Devpāl before 270, pp. 367 (probably 280, see under 285) |
| 276 | 251 | Beginning of the great Chinese wall to be built 297 |
| 276–239=37 yrs. | | Antigonus Ganuts of Macedonia (262) |
| 274 | 253 | Priyadarśin returned from his tour in N. Asia 280 |
| 273–270=3 yrs. | | Priyadarśin's religious activities for 3 years 298 |
| 272 | 255 | Priyadarśin appointed governors over Yona & Kāśmir 280; completion of great Chinese wall by Emp. Śi–Hu–Wāng after 4½ years' active work day & night, owing to fear from Emp. Priyadarśin 280 [ **274** (297) ] |
| 272–255=17 yrs. | | King Alexander of Epirus (**262**) |
| 271 | 256 | Sahasrām R. E. contains the number 256 of the Mahāvīr era, as the date of Aśoka's death 81, 227 [ **270** : Death of Aśoka (256) 288, 368, 329; he died in retirement 280, 298 ] Mahāvīr era; is found to have been mentioned in R. E. 81; Sahasrām edict 270 on pp. 287 |
| 270 | 257 | Priyadarśin visited Nepāl 2nd time 287, 298, 283, 367 |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| cir. 270 | cir. 257 | Prince Tiver of the Allahabad-pillar fame is supposed to have died in : 368 |
| 270–264=6 yrs. | | Priyadarśin passed these years in religious propaganda and activities (301) |
| 267 | 260 | The Chinese emperor Śi-Hu-Wāng's reign ended 283 |
| 265 | 262 | Priyadarśin got the R. E. erected 85 [ **264** : 282, 301, (301) 296, 368 ] |
| 264 | 263 | King Tissā of Ceylon died (261); **263** (238) |
| 263–253 | | King Uṭṭiya of Ceylon (238) |
| 262 | 265 | Ārya Suhastin, the religious preceptor of Emp. Priyadarśin died 153; according to some in 237 pp. (155) (301); **261**, (301) |
| 258–231=27 yrs. | | Coins of Emp. Priyadarśin, bearing Mahāvīr era dates, 83 |
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| 253 | 274 | Death of Nun Saṅghmitrā 237 |
| 252–244 | | Alexander, king of Korinth (262) |
| 250 | 277 | Death of Daśarath, king of Magadh (360); Prince Śāliśuk appointed to succeed him 360; his rule from 250 to 237; Arseidāi dynasty of Persia established (210) |
| | | Lichchavī kings of Tibet trace their origin to this time (278) |
| 237 | 290 | Śāliśuk, king of Magadh-died (350) |
| | | Death of Priyadarśin 131, 145, 261, (273) 302, (355), 362, 371 |
| 236–226=10 yrs. | | Emp. Subhāgsen, his coins 131; alias Vṛṣabhsen ( **237**, 371, 383 ); from 235 to 226 pp. 146; Ṛṣabhsen contemporary with Deodotus II (374) |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| 236 | 291 | Rising in the Punjāb, during the rule of of Vṛṣena, successor of Priyadarśin (277) |
| 237–205=32 yrs. | | Emp. Jālauk of Kāśmir 384 (237 to 197 on pp. 384, 363; from 236 to 190 on pp. 351) |
| 230–205 | | Euthedemos' power over the Punjāb and Sursen (possibility of) 362 |
| 227–220=7 yrs. | | Emp. Puṣpadharman 383 (from 219 to 213 on pp. 147) |
| 220–213=7 yrs. | | Emp. Devavarmā Maurya, 383 (from 226 to 219 on pp. 147) |
| 226 | 301 | Seventh Āndhra king Śātkarṇi died 380 |
| 220 | 307 | Beginning of die–struck coins 43; 4th century B. C. according to C. J. B. (43) |
| 213–211 | 314–316 | Emp. Śatadhanvā Maurya 383 (from 213 to 206 on pp 147) |
| 211–204 | 316–323 | Emp. Brahadrath Maurya 383 |
| 207 | 320 | Jālauk, emperor of Kāśmir died 380 |
| 206–204 | 321–323 | Mauryan emperor Bṛhaspatimitra 147 |
| 203 | 324 | Vasumitra conquered Pānchāl and Sursen from the Yavanas 362 |
| 205–175=30 yrs. | | King Dāmodar of Kāśmir 384 |
| 204 | 323 | End of the Maurya dynasty 145, 380 : Śuṅga dynasty founded by Emp. Agnimitra 380 |
| 2nd cent. | | Practical disapperance of the Vedic religion till the beginning of the Śuṅga period 188 |
| 197–167=30 yrs. | | Dāmodar's reign over Kāśmir 363 |
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| 182–159=23 yrs. | | Menander's time: his coins 140 (of the year 155 pp. 93) |
| upto 180 | upto 347 | Coins never bore letters from any oriental kings 54; Jainism was the more prominent religion in all the sixteen states of India 55 |

| B. C. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
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| 52 | 475 | Eighteenth Āndhra king Gautamiputra defeated the Śakas 135 |
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| 78 | | Belief that Kanishka's reign began from this time 363; Supposed date of the Chaṣṭhan era (78) : for my views regarding it, see under 103 A. D. and vol. III |
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| A. D. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
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| 611 | | The Islāmism is said to have established in this (52) |
| 7th Cent. | | Name of Vardhamānpuri (for the present city of Wadhwan in Kathiawar) came into use 316 |
| | | The Lichchavī family is said to be ruling over Nepāl (318) |
| 7th & 8th Cent. | | Mauryan dynasty was ruling over Magadh upto this time 358 |
| 790-834=44 yrs. | | King Āmra (alias Indrāyuddha) of Gwalior 358 |
| 9th Cent | | Dharma-parikṣā, the work edited by Yati-Bālchandji (12) |

| A. D. | A. M. | |
|---|---|---|
| 9th Cent. | | Śaivism (Śaiva sect) came into existence (51) (56) |
| 9th Cent. | | The Idols–colossal figures–at Śravaṇ-belgol are supposed to have been carved out (338) (see under 977) |
| 931 | | The work, entitled "Bṛhat-kathākosh compiled by Harisen (191) |
| 977-984 | | The idol at Śravaṇ-belgol was consecrated in : 334. |
| 11th Cent. | | A Cholā king converted to Śaivism under the influence of his queen (243) |
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| 1392 | | Bhadrabāhu-Charita, composed by Ratnanandi (153) (191) |
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| 15th Cent. | | Vaiṣnavism came into existence (51) |
| 1604 | | The idol at Tripur-venur was consecrated 335 |
| 1838 | | Rājāvalı-kathā was composed by Devachand (191) 204; 204, (153), according to some in the 18th cent. |
| 1878 | | Dr.Hoernle's address as the president of Bengal Asiatic Society |
| 1931 | | A stone-slab erected in one London-hotel & declared to be the largest in the world 338 |

# ERRATA

| *Pp.* | *Line* | *Incorrect* | *Correct* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 3 | let | led |
| 30 | Last | Century B. C. | Century A. D. |
| 46 | 29 | in 456 B. C. | in 556 B. C. |
| 85 | 1 | in 257 M. E. | in 247 M. E. |
| 113 | 21 | B. C. 317 definitely | B. C. 371 definitely |
| 157 | 5 | learn in 119 | born in 119 |
| Chapter on coins=some of the dates of Āndhra kings require investigation and further research (see vol. IV.) | | | |
| 204 | 15 | Devchandra (1938) | Devchandra (1838) |
| 207 | 31 | 375 to 483 A. D. | 375 to 403 A. D. |
| 224 | 12 | ownfall | downfall |
| 231 | 30 | His real name... ...Chapter V | Delete the whole sentence |
| 235 | 33 | in about 328–29 | in about 330–29 |
| 240 | 5 | The other son Tissā | The other son of Bindusār and brother of Aśoka named Tissā |
| 245 | 21 | 311–214 | 313–214 |
| 256 | 32 | 223 B. C. | 223 A. M. |
| 272 | 13 | f. n. 93 below | f. n. 72 below |
| 272 | 35 | in A. M. 470=B. C. 57 | in A. D. 47 circa |
| 296 | 7 | 249–250 A. M. | 262–3 A. M. |
| 296 | 8 | B. C. 277 | B. C. 264 |
| 338 | 31 | 9th or 10th cent. B. C. | 9th or 10th cent. A. D. |
| 355 | 18 | three hundred | four hundred |
| 355 | 31 | in 606 A. M. | in 706 A. M. |
| 360 | 29 | B. C. 237 to 277 | A. M. 237 to 277 |
| 360 | 30 | B. C. 277 to 294 | A. M. 277 to 294 |
| (These figures on pp. 360 are to be read as "quoted by the Purāṇas.") | | | |
| 408 | 13 | (after) 556 39 | (after) 556 29 |
| 409-414 | Top line | B. C. B. M. | B. C. A. M. |



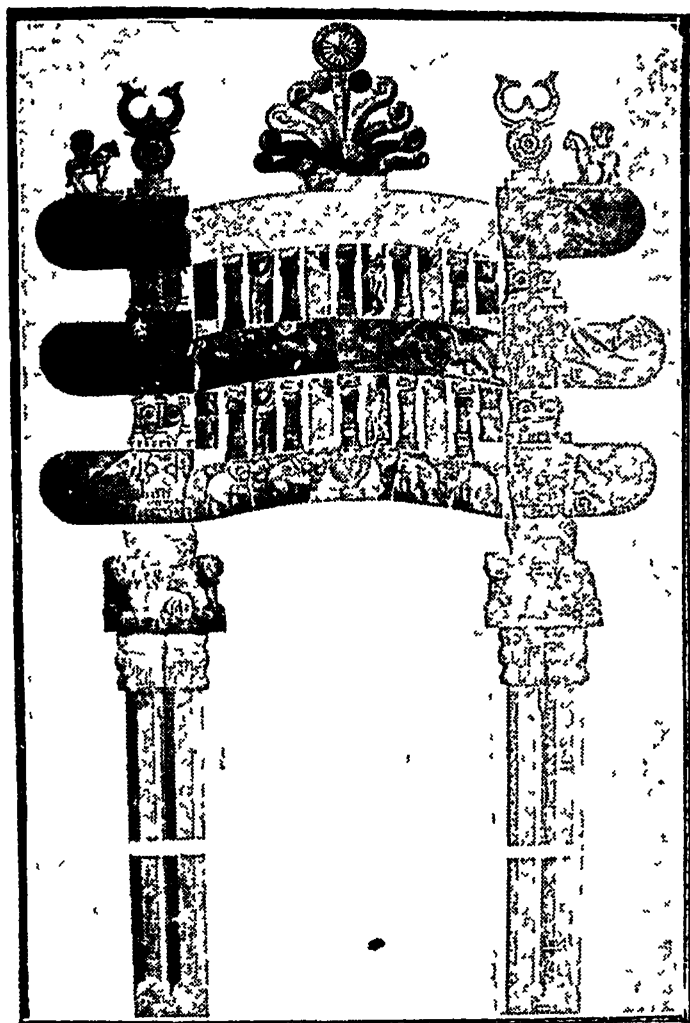
Lord Buddha
(founder of Buddhism)
B. C. 600–520=80

Fig. 5 ] [ Pp. 10



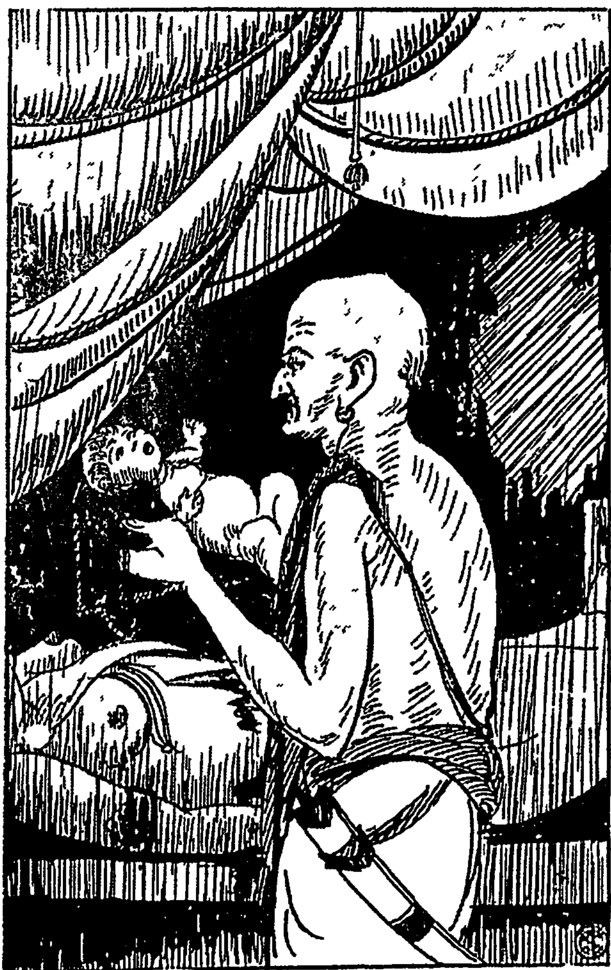
Lord Mahāvīr, the 24th Jaina Tīrthaṅkar B. C. 598–527=72

Fig. 6 ] [ Pp. 10



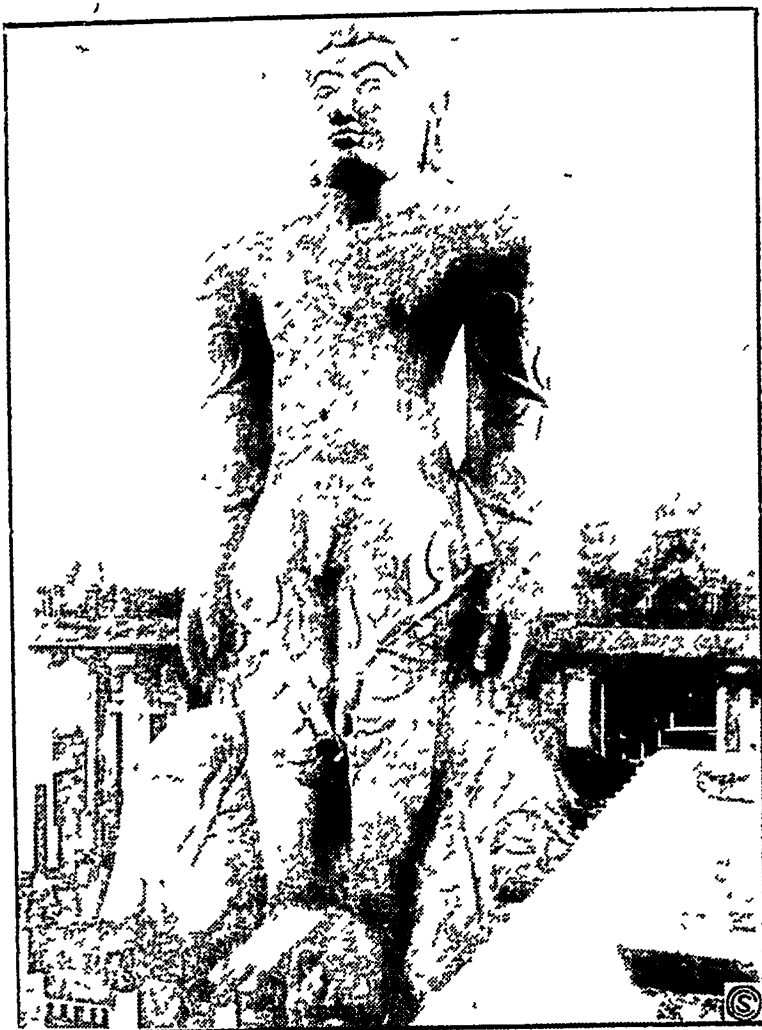
Sāñchī Stūpa entrance door

Fig 7 ] [ Pp. 186–88



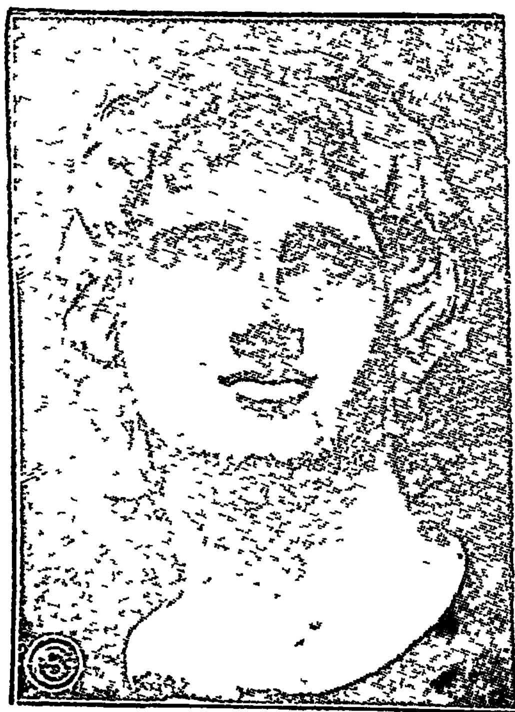
Birth of Bindusār

Fig. 12 ] [ Pp. 177



Bhadrabāhu-Gomat

Fig. 15 ] [ Pp. 195, also Fig. 31



Emp. Alexānder the Great

Fig 16 ] [ pp 212 & seq.



Seleucus Nicator

Fig. 17 ] [ pp. 220



Elephant raising Aśoka with his trunk

Fig. 18 ] [ Pp. 221



Emp Aśokavardhan
(Grand father of Emp Priyadarśin)

Fig. 20 ] [ Pp. 225



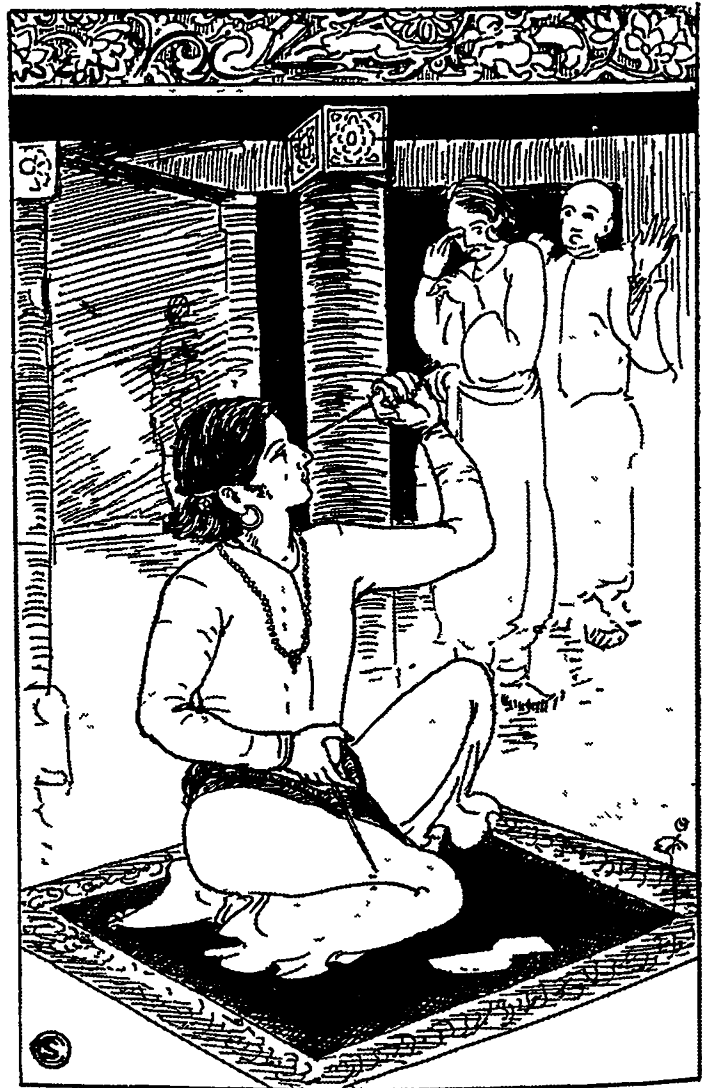
Queen Padmāvatī of Emp. Aśoka
(Grand mother of Emp Priyadarśin)

Fig 21 ] [Pp. 225



Embarkation of Mahendra & Saṅghamitrā to Ceylon

Fig. 22 ] [ Pp. 237



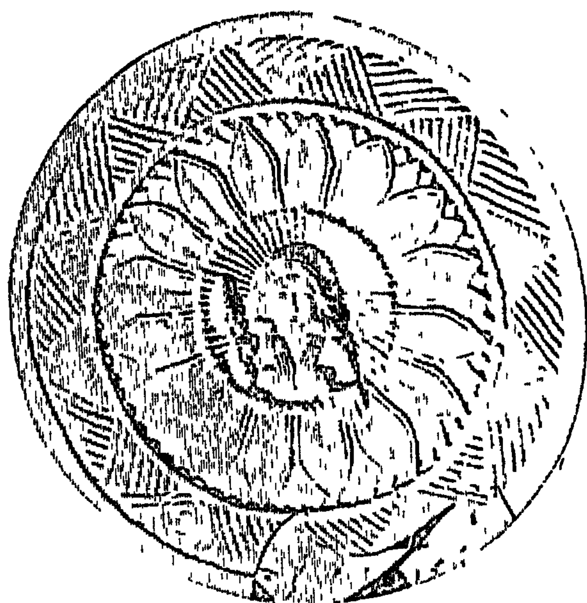
Prince Kuṇāl taking off his own eyes with red-hot iron-bars

Fig. 23 ] [ Pp. 248



Prince Kuṇāl
( Father of Emp. Priyadarśin )

Fig 25 ] [ Pp. 235



Queen Kañchanmālā alias Māyādevī
( Mother of Emp. Priyadarśin )

Fig. 26 ] [ Pp. 256



Queen Māyādevī's dream

Fig 28 ] [ Pp. 256



Emp. Priyadarśin

Fig. 29 ] [ Pp. 261–2

Emp Aśoka and his family

Prince Kuṇāl



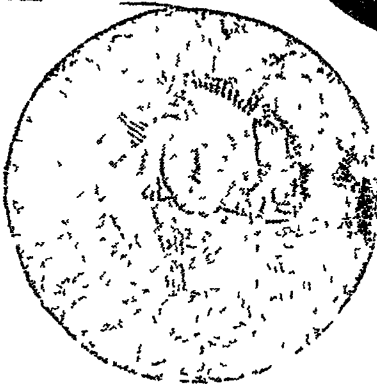


Emp. Aśoka



→ Emp. Priyadarśin

Queen Kañchanmālā





Queen Padmāvatī



Queen Kañchanmālā s dream when the soul of Emp. Priyadarśin is entering her womb

Fig. 27 ]

[ Pp. 263 & seq.



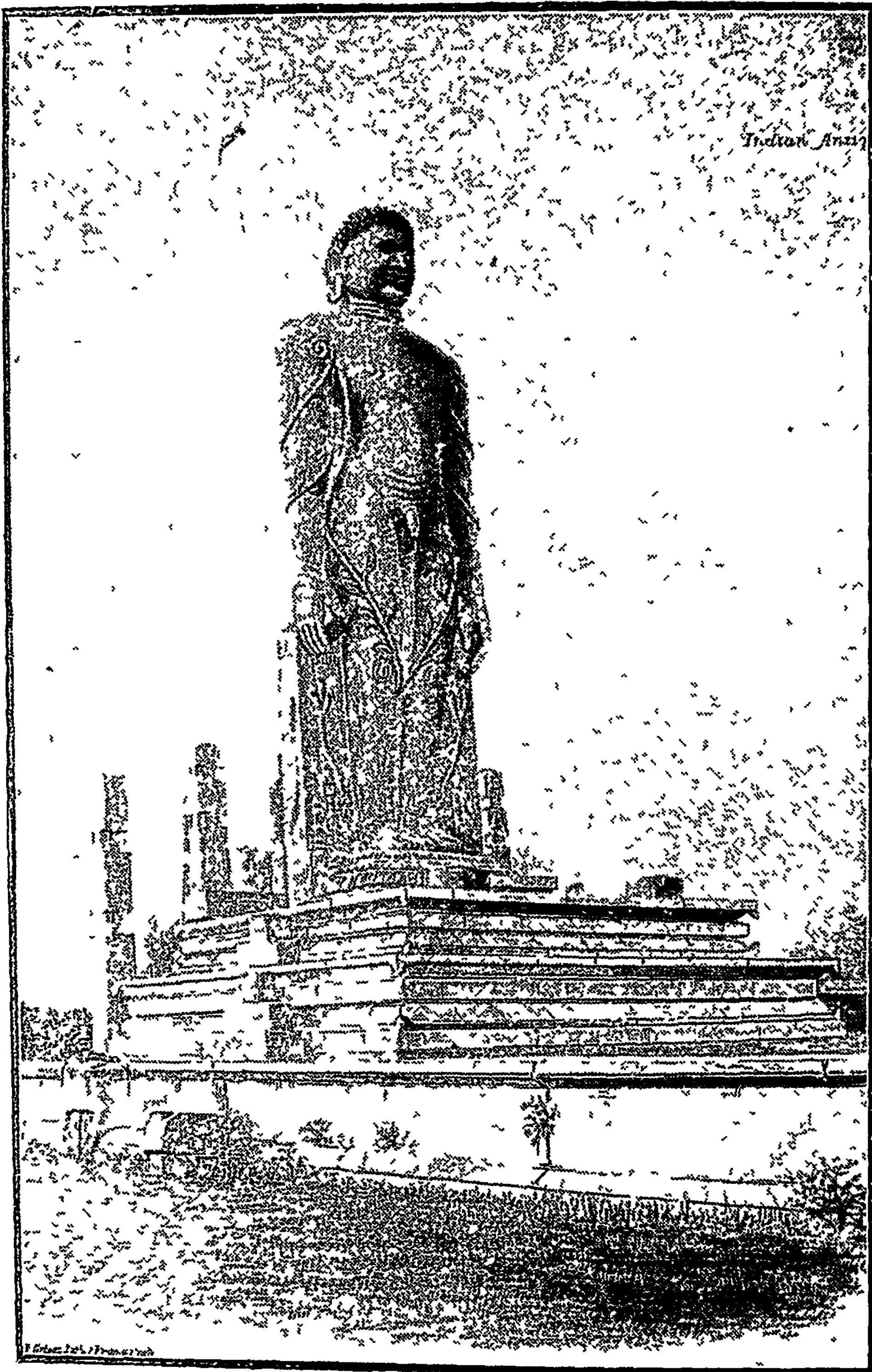
War of Kaliṅg, at the place where stands the rock-edict of Dhauli-Jagauḍā by Emp. Priyadarśin

Fig. 30 ] [ Pp. 277



Various monuments erected by Emp. Priyadarśin

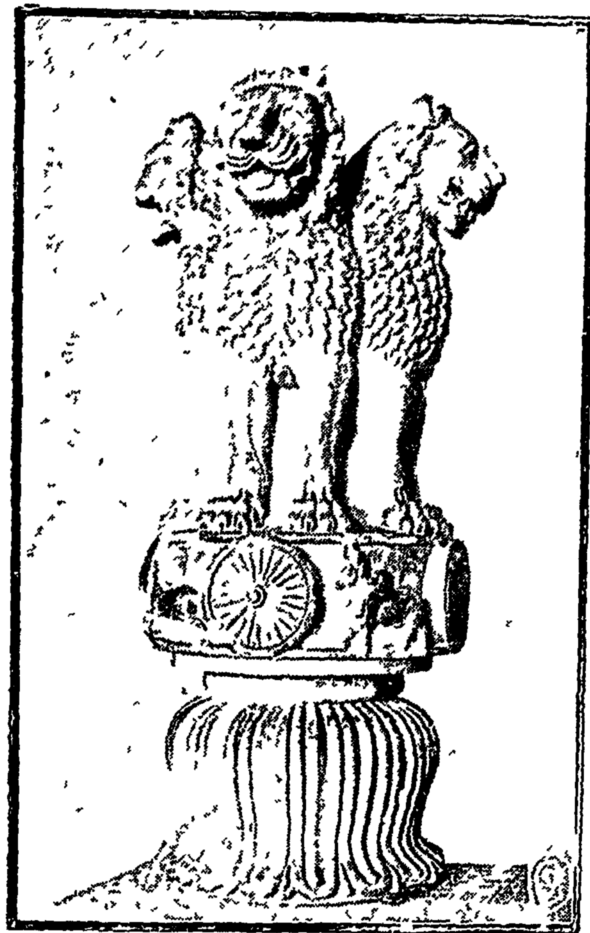
Fig 33 ] [ Pp. 320-40



Bhadrabāhu in contemplation
(Recognized as Gomata-swami)

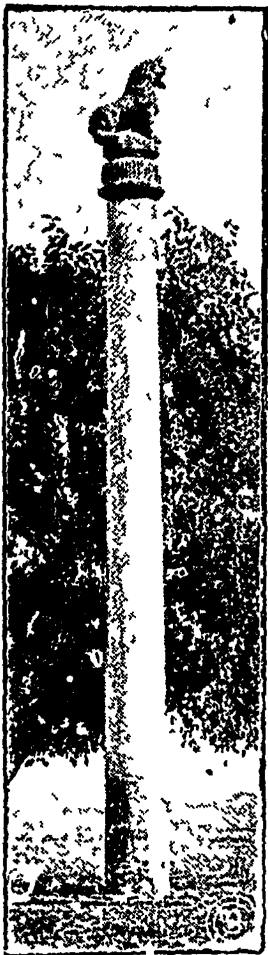
Fig 34 ]

[ Pp. 323, vide also Fig. 13



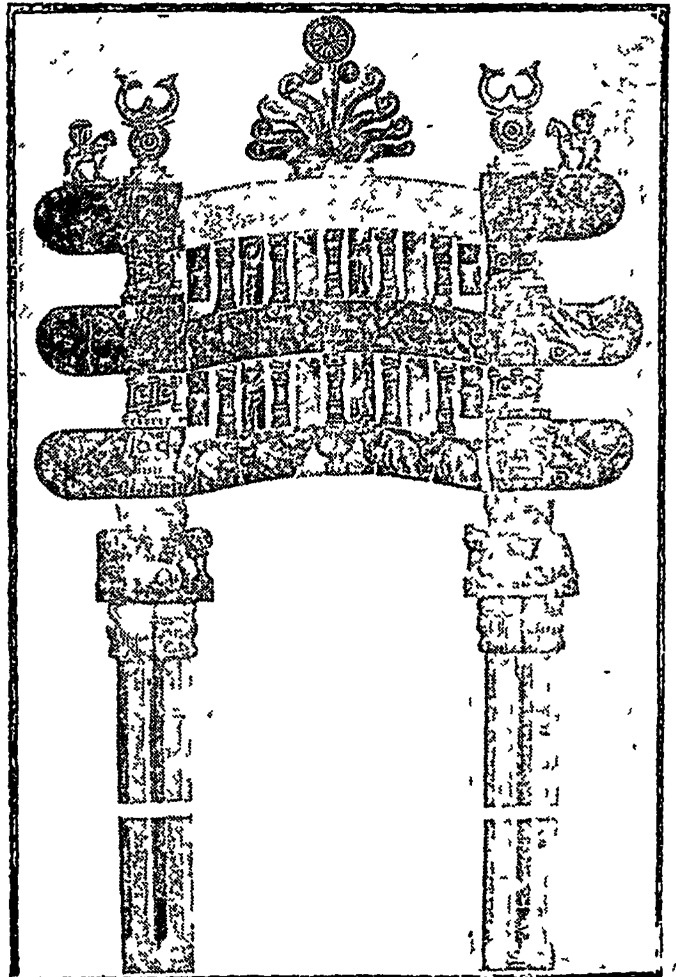
Capital of a Pillar-edict

Fig. 35, Pp 332



Pillar-edict

Fig 36 ] [ Pp. 332



Toran, entrance-door of a stūpa

Fig 37 ] [ Pp. 33

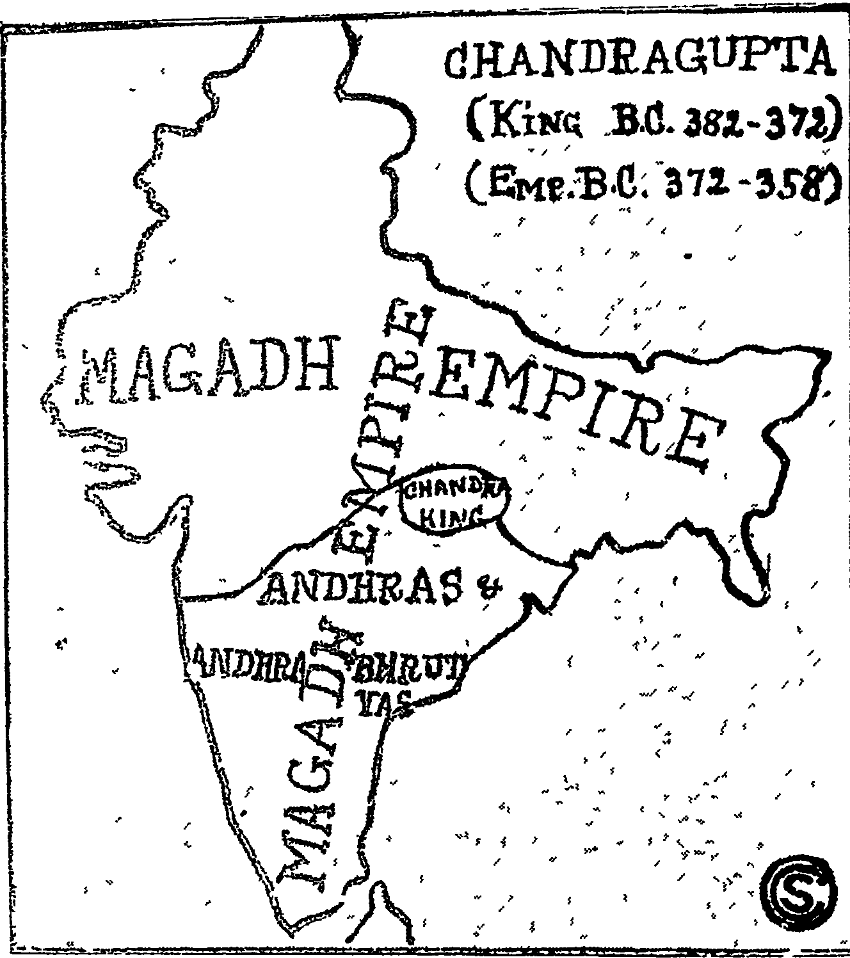



Fig. 41 Map No. 1

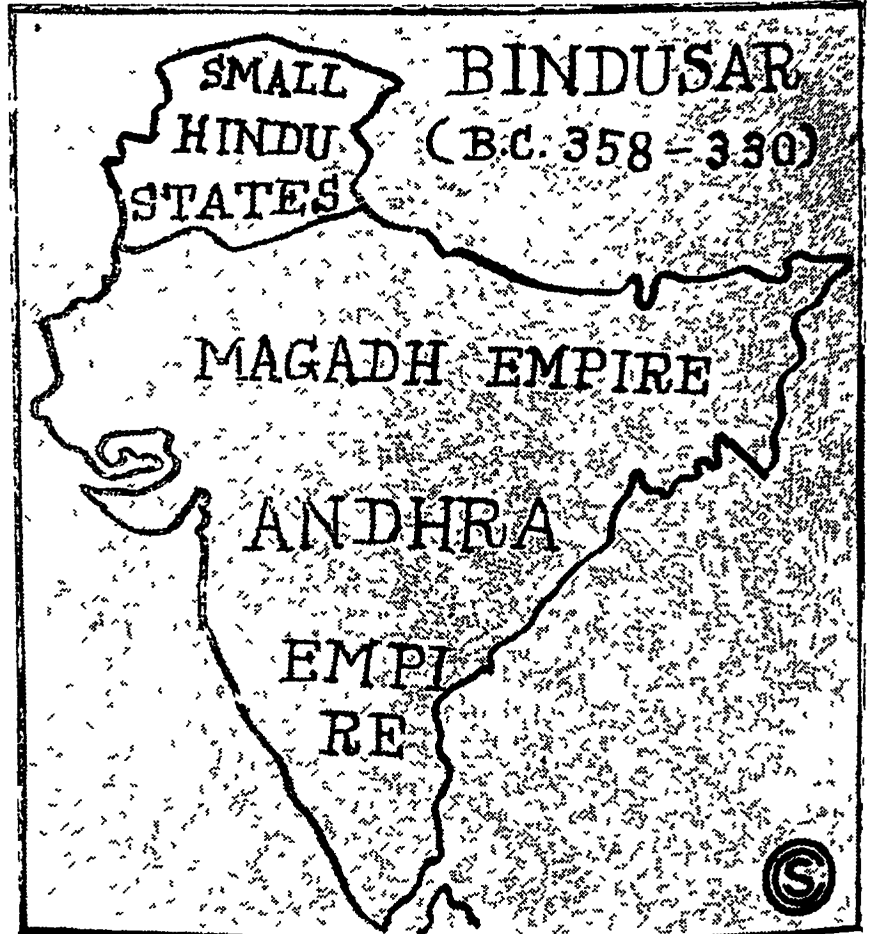



Fig. 42 Map. No. 2




Fig. 43

Map No. 3

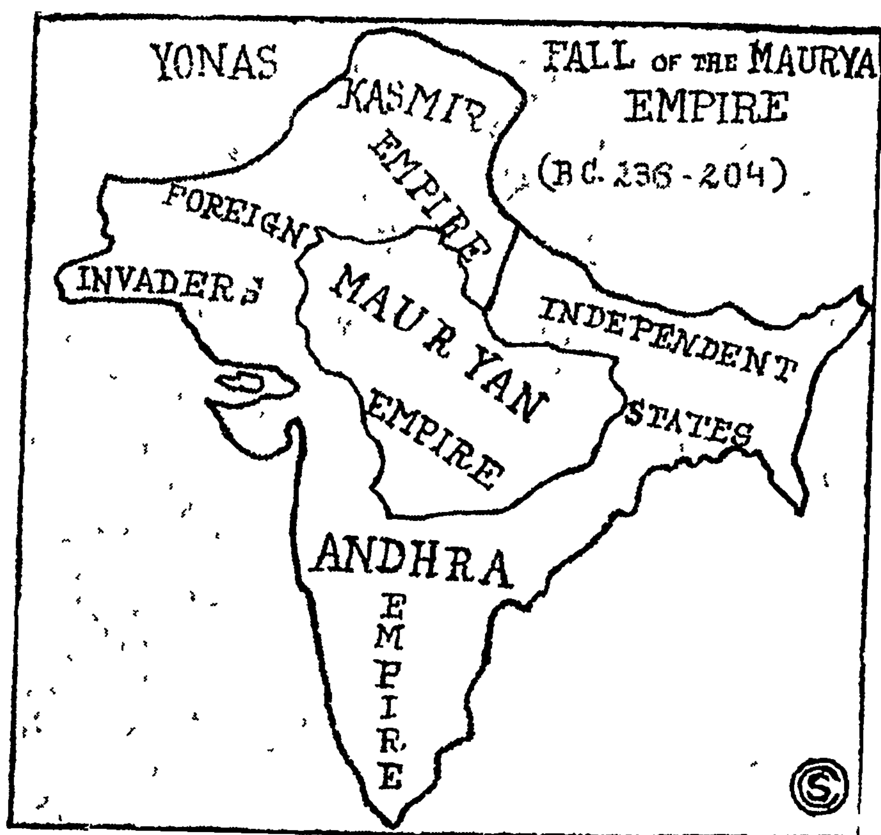



Fig. 45

Map No. 5

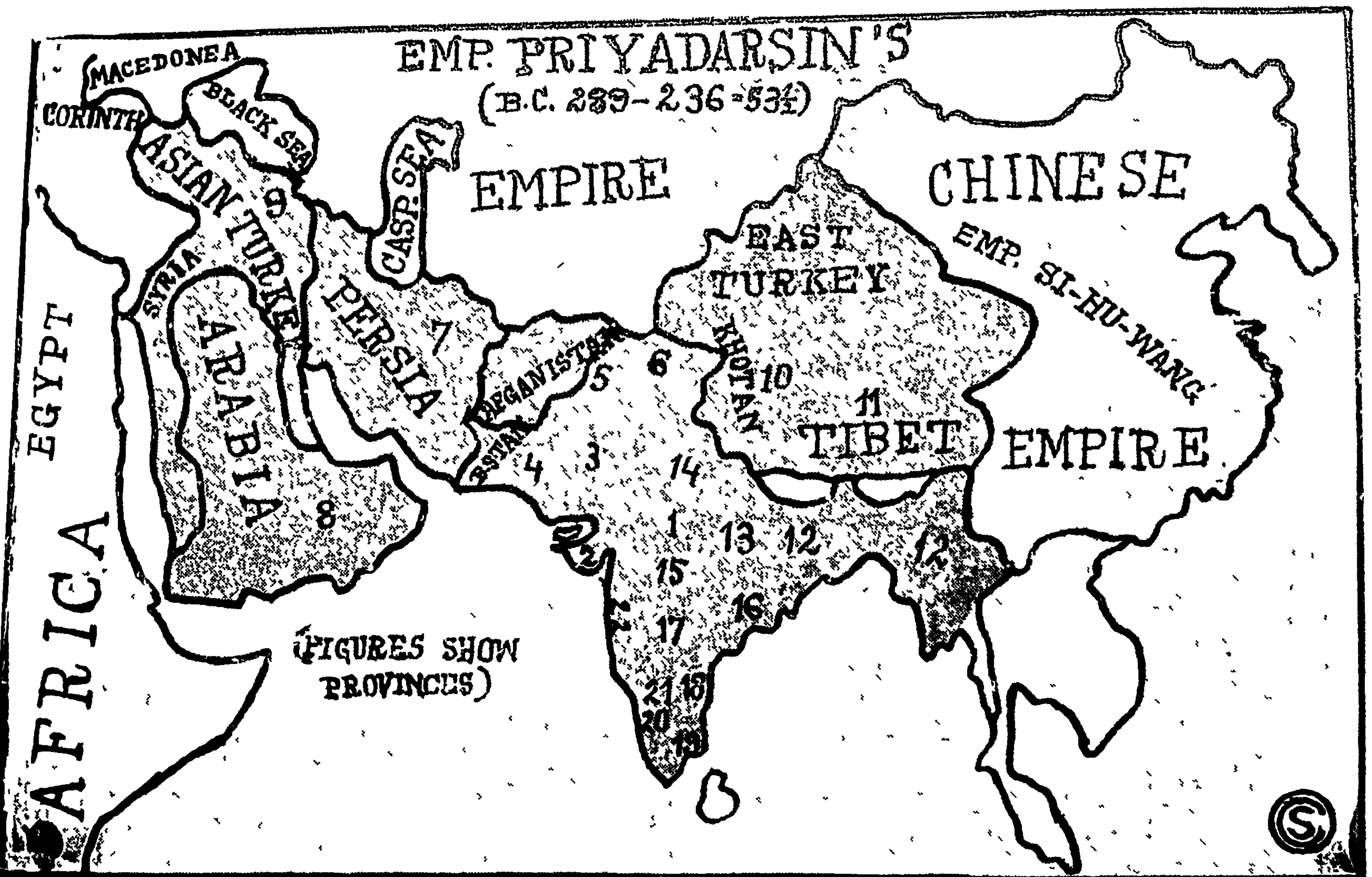
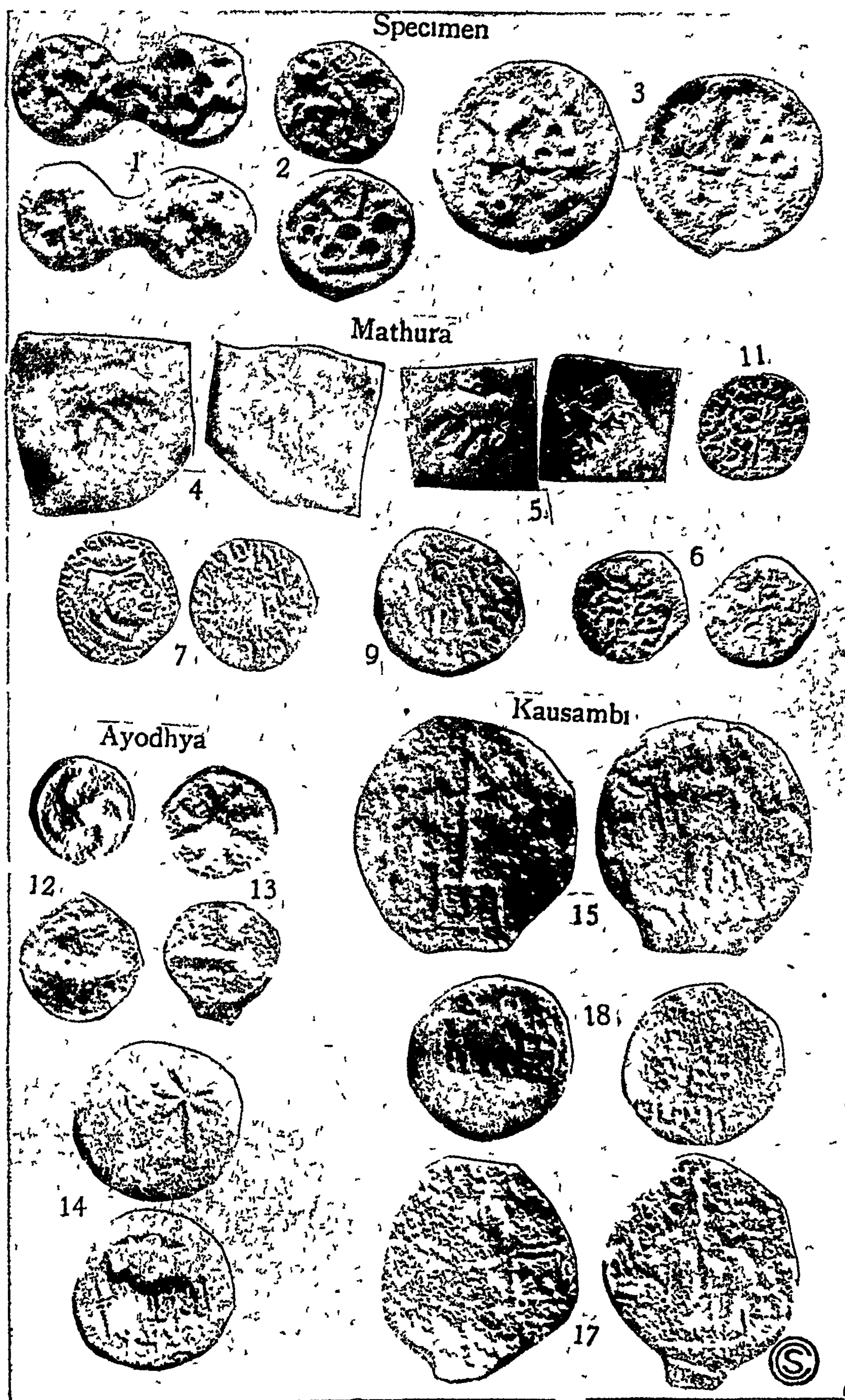
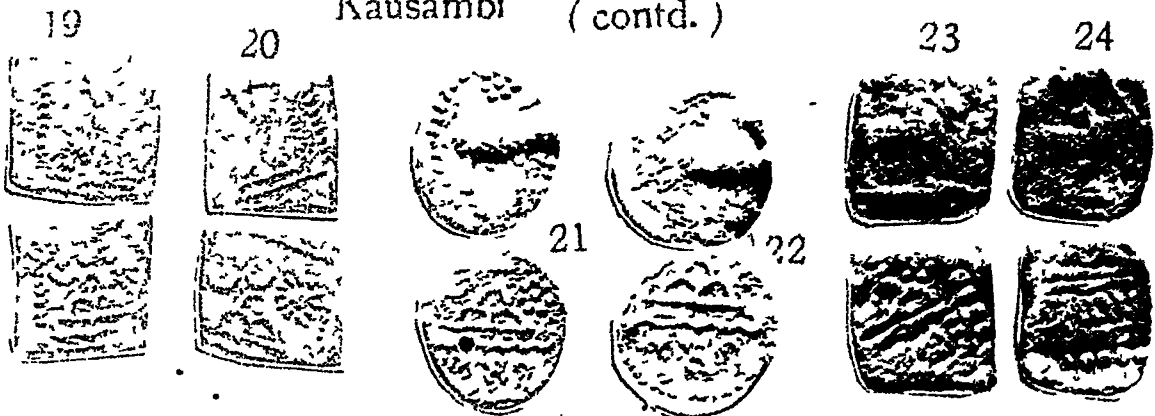
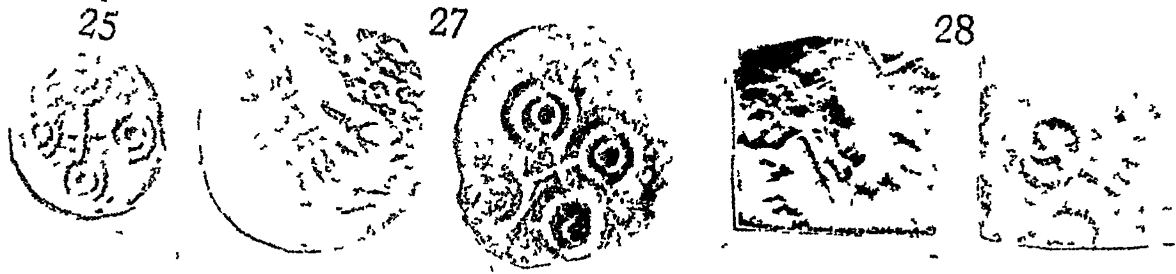
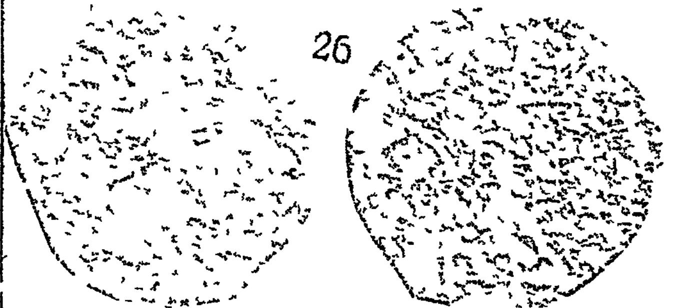



Fig. 44 Map No. 4


Specimen
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Kausambi
Ayodhya
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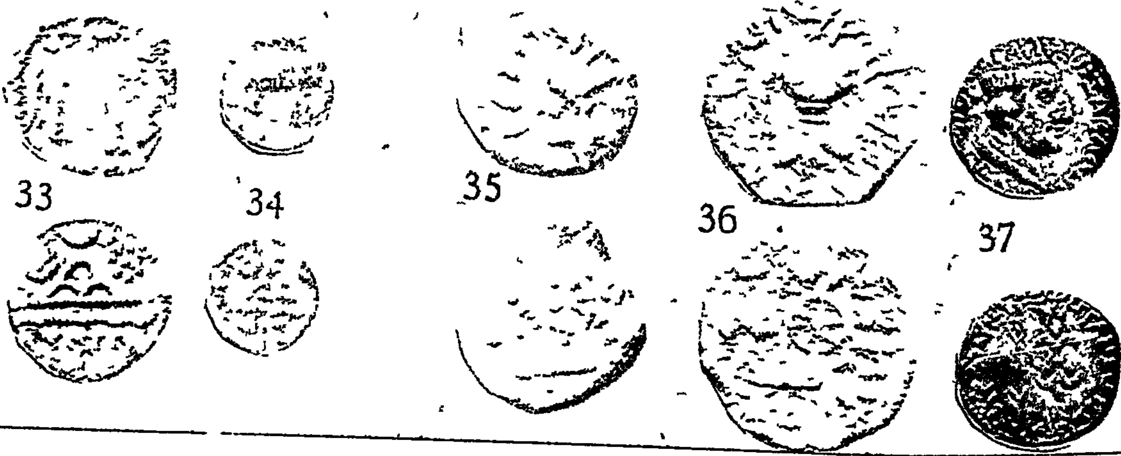

Kausambi (contd.)
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Avanti
Avanti
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Hindus
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Kshaharatas
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Extras



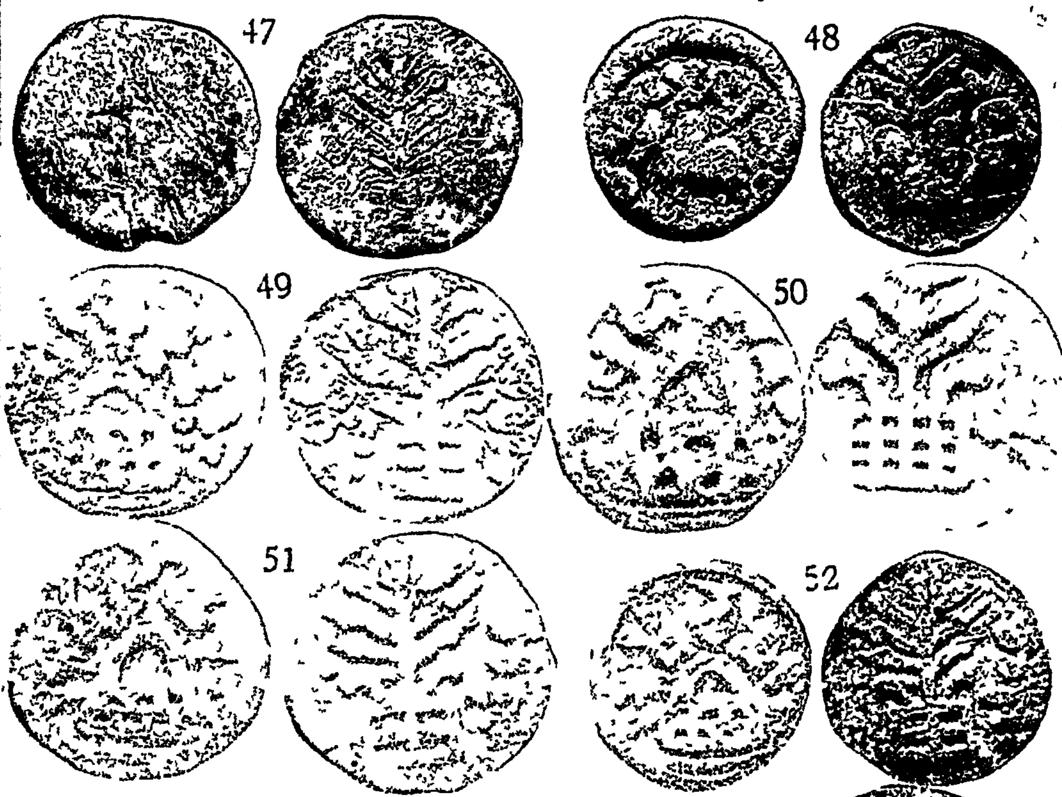




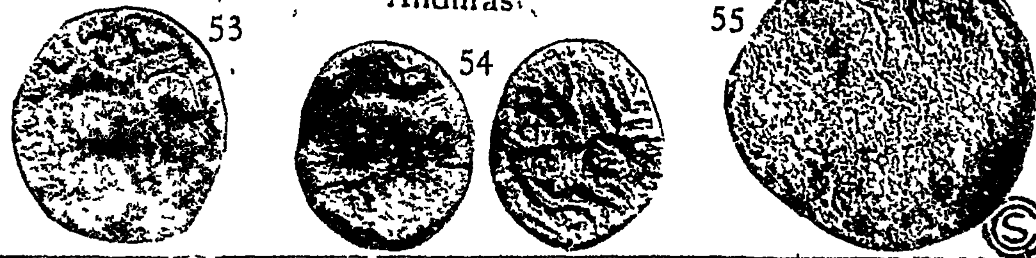
Magadh



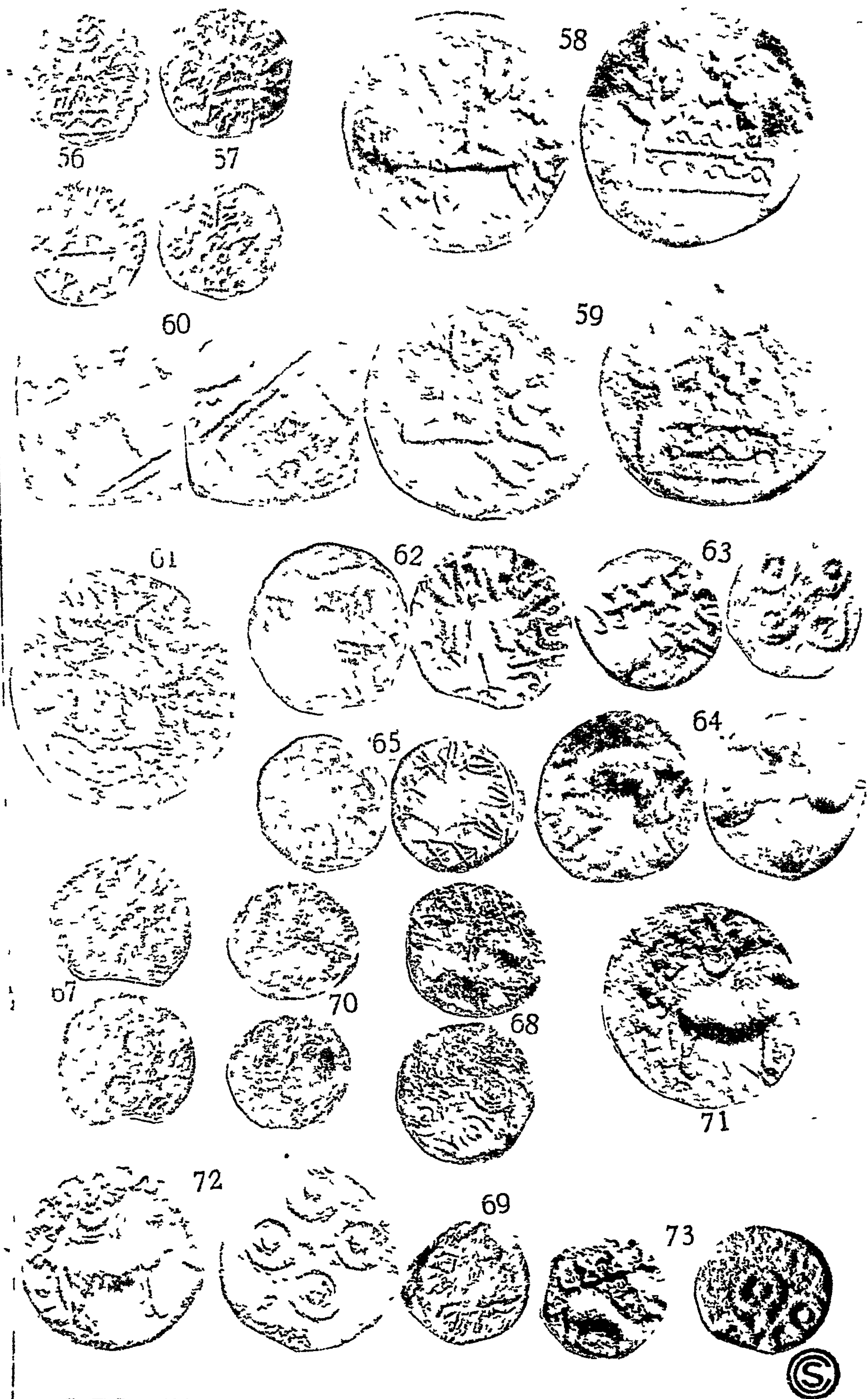

South India

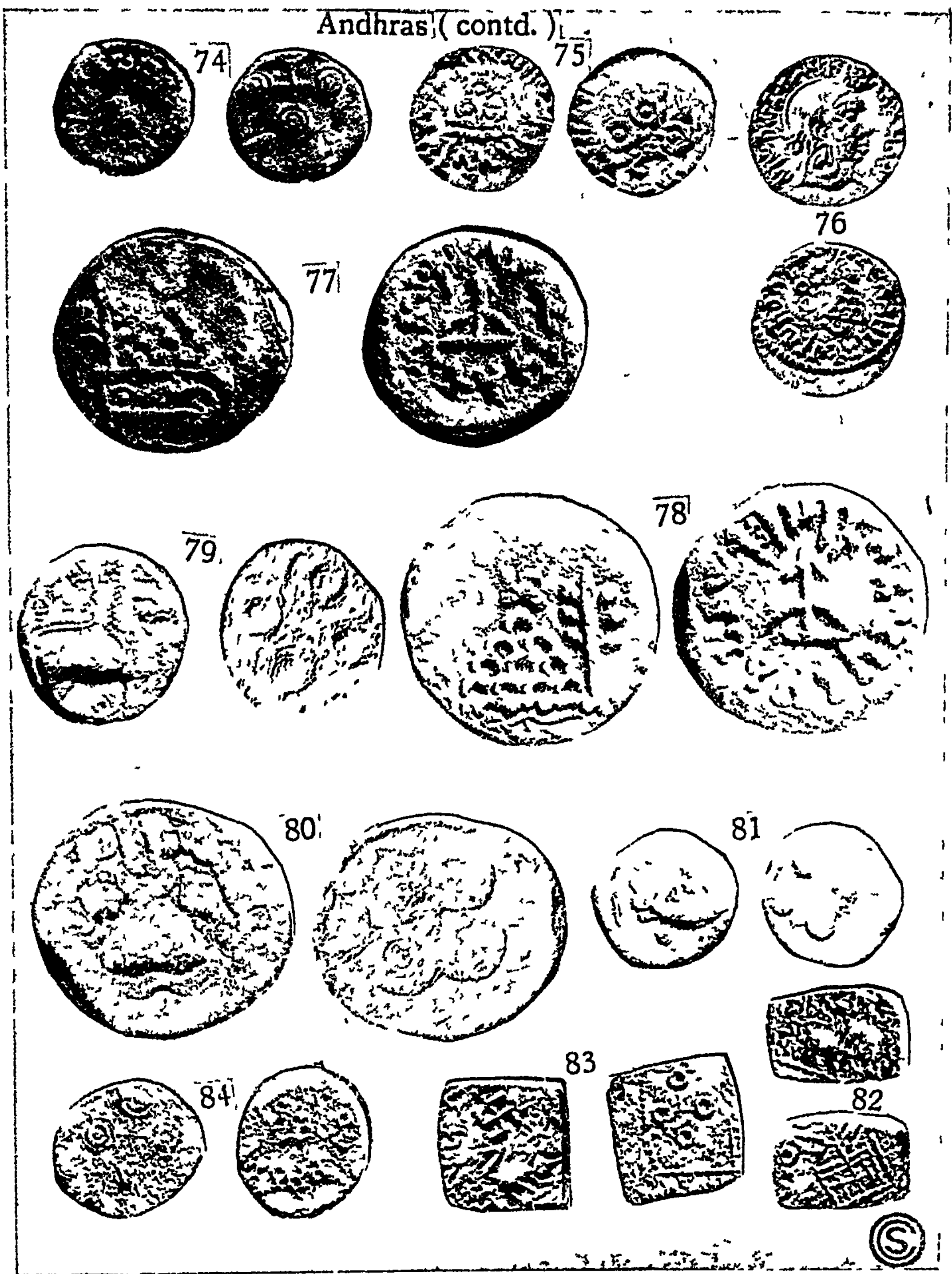



Andhras







Andhras (contd.)
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Andhras (contd.)
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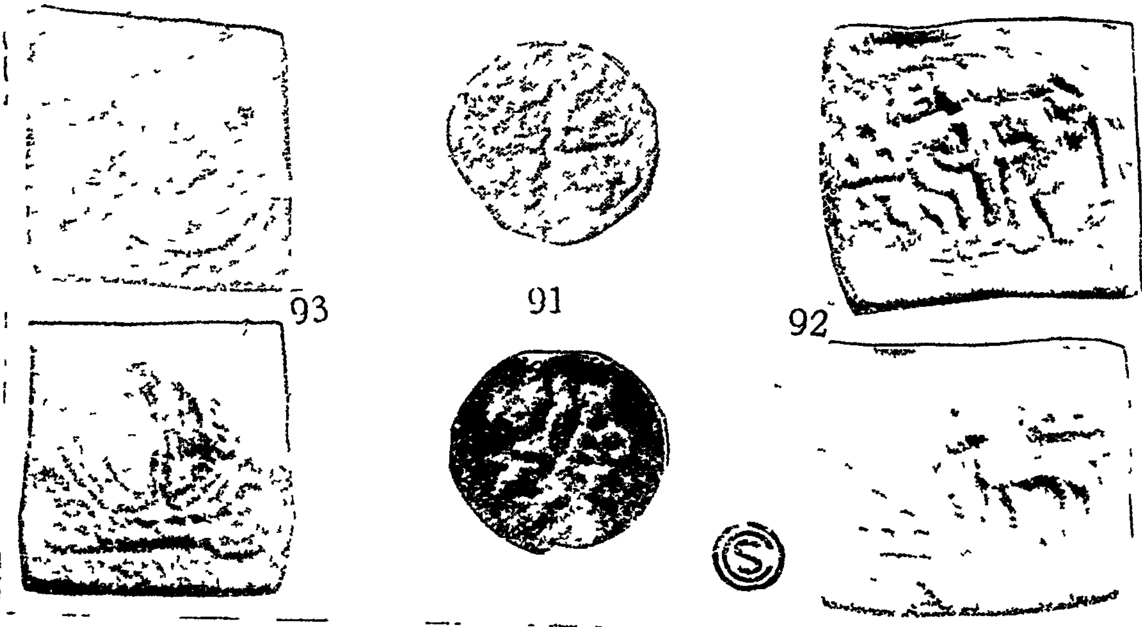
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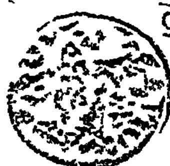

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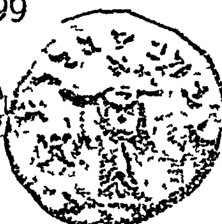
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# OPINIONS

With the help of the archeological department, ancient books and manuscripts, coins and inscriptions, scholars have begun to make an endeavour to give a connected and coherent form to ancient history. Systematic excavations of places of antique interest and collections of ancient manuscripts being put under the keen scrutity of experts, have encouraged these scholars in their attempts.

Dr. T. L. Shah's effort to write a connected history of ancient India with the help of these things deserves praise. He had collected a mine of information with an aim to compile an Encyclopædia of Jainism, and with the due discretion he has gleaned material out of it, which comes to light as " Ancient India ". Some of his theories and conclusions might strike many a reader as bomb-shells, but there is not a shadow of doubt, that a close study of these theories will disillusion even experts, on many a most and debatable point of ancient history and will clearly show us, how we misconstrued our own past. The book deserves encouragement from the heads of educational departments.

Prince of Wales Museum,
Bombay

(Sd.) **Acharya Girjashanker Vallabhji M.A.**
Curator, Archeological Section

* * *

I have read from cover to cover " Prachin Bharatvarsha " by Dr. T. L. Shah. It is based on a close study of the Jaina, the Buddhist and the Vedic literatures, and of ancient coins and inscriptions. Jaina literature, which had hitherto not received full justice at the hands of historians, has been fully utilised by Dr. Shah. His judgments are always synthetic and the book contains things hitherto unknown. Jains should encourage his effort fully, because no other writer has paid so much attention to the study of Jaina literature.

29th Aug. 1933
Baroda

(Sd.) **Prof. Keshavlal Himatram Kamdar**
Prof. of History, Baroda College

* * *

I have read Dr. Shah's synopsis of "Prachin Bharatvarsha". He intends to write a connected history of India from 900 B.C. to 100 A. D. in a homely style. He has boldly advanced several new theories and he has supplied full evidence in support of them. He has given a detailed account of the social, political, religious, geographic and economic condition of ancient India. He has not spared himself in the pursuit of his studies, and has based his conclusions on the evidence of coins, inscriptions and ancient manuscripts. His effort deserves encouragement from all quarters.

9-9-1933 (Sd.) **Govindbhai H. Desai** B. A. LL. B.
Baroda (Ex. Naib-Dewan)

* * *

Dr. Shah's effort to give a connected history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. deserves encouragement from all quarters. His pamphlet is eloquent of the unremitting toil and irrepressible enthusiasm for his work. Most of us are quite ignorant of the real cultural glory of ancient India. Dr. Shah's book is an admirable effort to supply this deficiency.

He has put forth some new theories and has thus invited much criticism, argumentation and discussion. He has not failed to give as much evidence as possible for every theory.

Such efforts are rare and deserve all possible encouragement.

Bombay (Sd.) **H. G. Anjaria** M. A.
(Prinicipal, S. N. D. T. Woman's University)

* * *

Your book presents quite a novel expect of ancient history. I conclude that you have not spared yourself in writing these volumes.

Bombay yours truly
19-12-33 (Sd.) **Krishnalal Mahanlal Zaveri** M. A. LL. B.

* * *

It was a great pleasure to go through the synopsis of Dr. Shah's "Prachin Bharatvarsha". He has advanced new theories and he has given full evidence to prove them. Some of his conclusions are revolutionary. For instance, he has stated that Sandrekotus was not another name for Chandragupta but for Ashok. I wish Dr. Shah all success in his enterprise.

Luhar St. Manhar Bldg. (Sd.) **Motichand Girdharlal Kapadia**
Bombay, 8th. Oct. 1933 B. A. LL. B., Solicitor

* * *

I was delighted when I went through the synopsis of "Prachin Bharatvarsha." I had been waiting long since, for an effort of this kind, and you can imagine my delight at the concretisation of my desire. Your book is sure to prove a stepping stone to the full and detailed study of Jaina literature and its contribution to the culture and civilization of India. I sincerely hope that Jains as well as non-Jains will lend support to such a book, because its aim is to reveal the glory, not merely of Jainism but that of ancient India as a whole.

I admire you for your unremitting toil and irrepressible enthusiasm.

Palanpur, V. E. 1989 (Sd) **VallabhvijaySuri**

* * *

I have received your synopsis of your " Prachin Bharatparsha." Going through it, I feel that you have not spared either effort or money in the preparation for this stupendous task. Few will be able to render as much service to India as you. Such books are few and far between, and the more such publications are made, the better.

Please enter my name on the list of the customers of this book

Delhi ( Sd. ) **Muni Darshanvijay**
4-10-1933 Kinari Bazar, Jain Dharmashala,

* * *

It gives me great pleasure to know, that you have collected material for compiling Encyclopædia Jainika. I thank you for sending me the beginning sections of " Prachin Bharatvarsha ", material for which you have glanced from the former, and which you intend to publish shortly. Your endeavour to write a connected history of ancient India based mainly on Jaina literature, is praise worthy. It is possible that your conclusions may differ from the conclusions of those writers who have relied on Buddhist and Vedic literature. On the whole, your effort is sure to bring a good result and is therefore really praiseworthy.

Fort Chambers, 6-10, Dean Lane
Bombay, 22-12-1933

Yours truly,
( Sd. ) **Vishvanath P. Vaidya**
Bar-at Law

* * *

I have received with pleasure Dr. Shah's synopsis of "Prachin Bharatvarsha." A perusal of it has convinced me, that the book will prove very useful and stimulating to all.

16-11-1934 Sd. **VijaynitiSurti**

* * *

The book is likely to give rise to argumentations, discussions and criticisms because it contains theories, quite opposite to those which are generally accepted among scholars.

The author has not spared himself in the pursuit of knowledge, and has gathered materials from various sources. This is admirable.

Bombay, 18th Jully 1935 **Sanj Vartaman**

* * *

Dr. Shah is one of those scholars who have not spared any effort in unearthing the golden past of India. Few books in any language can stand comparison with his work, which is the outcome of many years of constant application. He has given us a connected account of the history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. The book is sure to prove a great incentive to scholars and will go a great way in furthering research work in this direction.

His theories are entirely new and therefore debatable no doubt. The very novelty is bound to give rise to a hot discussion culminating in a new interest and more research work. The author, however, has never advanced any theories for which he could not put forth the solid evidence of coins, books and inscriptions. Such astounding theory, as that of establishing Aśok and Priyadarśin as different individuals, may not be accepted at once, but the author has not failed to pile evidence upon evidence for proving his theory.

The chronological list of events given at the end of the book is sure to prove very useful. One such list was prepared by Grant Duff; but that was years ago. This is more detailed. The book contains, moreover, a number of pictures, maps and illustrations— an added attraction.

The book makes evident the author's deep study of Jaina literature. At the same time he has not failed to supply evidence from other literatures which he has not studied any less than the former. His style is homely.

Ahmedabad, 28-7-35 **Prajabandhu**

The very hazard of publishing such a book, deserves encouragement and support from even those, who are not students of history. Interest of the general public in history is yet to be cultivated, and hence the author should be all the more congratulated upon his spirit of enterprise.

The main aim of the author, is to put before us the fact that Buddhism and Brahminism have been hitherto given undue importance at the cost of Jainism, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkar, of which constructed and formulated a new social and political order.

At all places, the author has supplied as many pieces of evidence as he could. Copious footnotes, chronological lists and index have made the book worthy of the attention of scholars, while the homely style of the author has laid the material within the rich of all.

The difficulties and setbacks which the author has experienced in the publication of this book, are enough to make his effort worthy of admiration. His new theories, his challenging attitude and his enthusiasm are really inspiring.

**Bombay, 14-8-35** **Janmabhūmi**

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Dr. Shah has written this book after a deep and intelligent study of ancient coins, books and inscriptions. He has rendered great service to all students of history, and especially to the Jaina community. Jainism, as he has proved, enjoyed paramount power in India at the time when Buddhism, Islām and Christianity did not even exist.

One praiseworthy feature of the book is the maps of various countries and kingdoms. Another equally praiseworthy feature is the illustrations of ancient coins and other pictures, which are aptly designed to give us a panoramic view of ancient India as it really was. The picture of Saraswati, giving us an idea of the art of painting 2000 years ago, deserves special attention.

We congratulate Dr. Shah for bringing to light things, which had hitherto been concealed in the womb of antiquity.

**Bhavnagar, 25th August, 1935** **Jain**

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We welcome Dr. Shah's effort to write the history of India from 900 B.C. to 100 A.D. Looking to the application and the presevering

exertion of the writer, the price fixed for the book is quite adequate though the public might be inclined to consider it a bit high.

Dr. Shah has tried to present novel facts and theories based on the evidence of ancient coins, books and inscriptions. His theories are apt to strike one as revolutionary, but one's doubts are sure to be silenced by arrays of evidence, piled in the book. The reader is also apt to think that Jainism is unduly highly represented in the book. He has then to remember that this book owes its existence to the material gleaned and systematically arranged from "Encyclopædia Jainica."

The book presents a new angle of vision into the cobwebs of Indian antiquity, and therefore deserves full study by all students of ancient history. Written with a view to incite more research work, the book is invaluable and admirable.

To avoid all misconstruing, the readers may go through the preface first, as the author has clearly stated his viewpoint there.

Baroda, 9-9-1935 **Nav-Gujarat**

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None should work under the erroneous conception that the author has been partial towards Jainism. He has put forth evidence from all available ancient and modern books, the huge list of which, is given at the beginning of the book. He has begun his account from the time of the twenty-third Jaina Tirthankar, Parshvanath. By piling evidence upon evidence, the author has proved that in ancient India there were only two religions, namely Jainism and Brahminism, of which the former had paramount power. He has given a detailed account of the 16 kingdoms of those times. He has supplied maps about each, and all minute details connected with them. In fact he has given a panoramic picture of ancient India and his theories and conclusions shed quite a new light on those times. The author has also proved that the Mahāvīr Era was adopted by most of the dynasties and was much in vogue.

Bombay, 2869-1935 **Bombay Samachar**

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The book is full of maps, pictures and other illustrations concerning those times. Specially noteworthy are the pictures of Kalpa-druma on the front page, and of Saraswati on the title

page. All the pictures and maps have been fully explained in the book. The pictures at the top of every chapter are very suggestive of the contents of that chapter.

We generally believe that Jainism and kingship are things incompatible. Dr. Shah has tried his level best to prove that most of the kings in ancient Inia were Jains.

He has advanced entirely different theories. In fact he has presented the other side of the shield. How far that side is correct is another question; but we should not forget that he is the first to present it.

The book deserves full encouragement from kings, libraries and from all. It will prove useful to Jains as well as non-Jains.

Bombay, 22nd Sept. 1935 **"Gujarati"**

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The author has made a deep study of all available material. Naturally he has given preference to Jaina literature, which had been practically ignored by his predecessors. He has advanced marvellously novel theories. The whole book sheds a news earch light on ancient Indian history. He has not failed to advance solid evidence, wherever he has differed from his predecessors. It deserves deep study by all students of history. Its homely style makes it interestingly redable to the general reader as well. It is full of maps and illustrations which are fully explained.

We offer our congratulations to the author for his deep knowledge of the subject and hope that no library will be without it.

Baroda **Sahityakar**

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The book presents a connected history of ancient India from 900 B. C. too 100 A. D.; the most noteworthy feature of which is a chronological statement of events, that took place during the period stated above. It is full of pictures and illustrations of coins and inscriptions and maps. The book is specially important from the viewpoint of research work, and presents good material to all interested in the subject.

Bombay, 1-6-1936 **Jain Prakash**

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Looking to the books on the history of ancient India, one cannot help feeling, that Jaina literature has been almost neglected. Even Mr. Wells has not written anything about Mahāvīr, not to talk of anything else.

All students of history will be glad to know, that one stupendous effort of this kind has been made by Dr. T. L. Shah, a scholar who has devoted twenty-five consecutive years to the study of all available material.

It supplies an exhaustive study of coins and religious signs of those times. It contains very suggestive pictures.

The author has put forth, what one might be constrained to say, rather startling theories. For instance, he has stated that Gautam Buddha was at first a Jain, and hence Buddhism owes ita origin to Jainism. He has explained coins and signs upon them in altogether a different light, and has proved that most of them belong to Jainism. Such signs of the Mauryas as horse and the other like Swastik, Dharmachakra, Indradhvaj, Sun and Moon, Caitya and others he has ascribed to Jainism. He has very strongly and boldly stated that Ashok and Priyadarshin were different individuals.

But it is no tribute to him to note that he has piled evidence upon evidence to support his theories. There is no categorical statement in the book, which he has not loaded with heaps of evidence based on coins, inscriptions and ancient books.

In fact, the book is a great attempt to give a correct picture of India, as it was twenty-five hundred years ago. We congratulate Dr. Shah upon his marvellous effort and courage and hope that his services will be appreciated by all.

Bombay, 30th May, 1936 **Bombay Samachar**

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The first part of this remarkable work—because of a man of medicine delving deep into the Ancient History of India—has already been noticed. This substantial volume of five hundred pages deals with numismatics-old coins, i. e. coins current in ancient India. In addition, the period covered by the Maurya dynasty and the onslaughts of foreigners-Yavanas-have been handled with

the precision of a scientist. The indexes are very useful and furnish a key to the varied contents of the volume.

**Modern Review, 9-36**

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The book is a unique adventure. The scholarship, the information, the material and the zeal of the author are praiseworthy. He has not spared himself in the pursuit of his work. He has defended his theories with enthusiasm of a pleader.

The author has tried to prove that, many things that are attributed to Buddhism, really belong to Jainism. Hence, he has invited much debate and criticism. For instance, he has tried his utmost to establish that all the Maurya kings except Ashok were Jains; that Sandrekotus is not the Greek name of Chandragupta but of Ashok ( Chandashok ); that Priyadarshin is altogether a different individual from Ashok; that the inscriptions ascribed to Ashok really belong to Priyadarshin who was a Jain etc. etc.

Be it as it may, one thing is clear, that things, which are at present considered to be remains of Buddhism purely, may really be a heterogenous mixture of Buddhist and Jaina remains and that the things ascribed to Jainism, at present, form only a part of what originally belonged to it. Jainism must also have had its period of boom, like Buddhism and Brahminism. We hope that the aspirations of Dr. Shah may be fulfilled. If scholars begin to reinvestigate all the available material in the light of this book,another link in the broken chain of ancient history is sure to be supplied.

Karachi, March, 1937 **" Urmi "**

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"Prachin Bharatvarsha"—Part I, by Dr- T. L. Shah, L. M.& S., Baroda :—Years ago, public attention was attracted by Dr. Shah, who undertook to compile "Encyclopædia Jainica" on a gigantic scale. The plan had to be postponed on account of want of proper encouragement and help. This, however, could not prevent him from continuing his application to ancient books and other materials, as a result of which we have this volume. The present book will convince the reader that Dr. Shah, though a doctor by degree, is a painstaking student of ancient Indian history and

culture, and that he has dived deep into that ocean. He has made a formidable attempt in this book to prove, that many theories hitherto universally accepted by all historians, are entirely wrong.

Little definite is known about Chandragupta, and whatever little information we have, is based on Greek history. Dr. Shah has put forth the theory, that Chandragupta and Sandrekotus are different individuals, and this theory deserves full consideration from experts.

There was a time, when we hesitated to stretch our ancient history to a period, much more older than the time, of the invasion of Alexander the Great over India. The Mohan-ja-dero excavations, however, have widened our outlook and put before us long vistas of antiquity, the end of which we fix up, with the time of the Vedas. If Dr. Shah's conclusions and theories prove correct, the major part of our ancient history shall have to be re-written. This is the reason why we appeal to all interested in ancient history to submit his conclusions and theories to a searching analysis with the object of gleaning out truth from them. Let us hope that the second volume of this highly praiseworthy effort may see the light of the day as soon as possible.

Ahmedabad

Sd. **Hiralal T. Parikh** B. A.

( Bhuddhiprakash, Jan-March, 1937 )

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Rare as such efforts are in our country, where the writers get little support and encouragement from the public and from various institutions as they do in the west, Dr. Shah's achievement deserves full credit and support from all interested in the glory of ancient India, which is revealed in its true form, by the Doctor.

The book is full of theories and conclusions which will shock and disillusion even experts on many a point of antique interest. The author, however, has put forth all available evidence, based on such reliable sources like ancient manuscripts, coins and inscriptions.

Bombay 10-7-37

**Jay-bharat**

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The great merit of the book seems to me to consist in his careful handling of materials coming from authoritative Jaina sources. He has laboured much in elucidating our past history and his conclusions *mostly run counter to the accepted theories.* Nevertheless, his new theories will stimulate further discussions and research, from which we may gain much good.

Oriental Institute, Baroda — **B. Bhattacharya Ph. D.** Director

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I believe that his work will prove very useful and interesting. Many new points are introduced by him and though agreement on these is not always possible, yet they show the great energy and vast reading of the author. I am sure, it will be most welcome to all indologists.

Wilson College, Bombay — **Prof. H. D. Velankar M. A.**

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*Prachin Bharatvarsha Part III*

The Author's ambition is to present a picture of ancient India between 900 B. C. and 100 A. D. The first volume treats of the Magadha period and the reigns of 18 kings extensively; the second of the Maurya Dynasty and incidentally tries to establish that Aśoka and Priyadarśin were two different persons and that the rock inscriptions attributed to Aśoka are really those engraved by Priyadarśin who was a Jain, and that Sandrecottus was not Chandragupta but Aśokavardhan. The present volume deals with the fall of the Maurya dynasty and the Shung and other later dynasties. Foreign invaders of India from Bactrian to Indo-Scythians' invasions also form a part of it

It is a scholarly work and statements made in it, are supported by proofs from coins, inscriptions and writings of old authors. It has roused of course, an amount of controversy, but all the same is a monumental work.

September, 19th, 1937 — **Bombay Chronicle**

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The author himself says that the book is full of "bombshell like and astounding theories either quite newly proposed or presented in entirely new light"; and twenty-three of these theories are indicated by the author as marking new ground that he has broken. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar who writes the foreword to this volume, says that the work is more or less a Jaina verson of Indian History relating to the prevalence of Jainism in the country in the epoch which it covers, beginning from the life of Parsvanatha and coming down to the end of the first century and striving to remove the defect that the corresponding Jaina sources for the period have not been proportionately utilised.

Dr. Shah would give an equal, if not higher importance to Avanti as to Magadha; and he holds that more light upon history of Avanti is more than likely to change the entire historical perspective of Ancient India. He claims to throw new light on the history of Sanchinagari, maintains that the Pradyota dynasty of Avanti was Jaina and would appropriate for Jainism both the Sanchi and Bharhut stupas. These two, as well as the undoubtedly Jaina Simha Stupa of Mathura, are held by him to be clearly connected with Jainism.

His chronological scheme, apart from the pre-historic epochs, is made to run on two parallel wheels of the Christian and the Mahāvīr eras. The conclusions suggested in the book require careful consideration and evaluation, and the treatment is also worthy of critical notice at the hands of serious student.

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We sincerely congratulate Dr. Tribhuvandas L. Shah for the time taken and expenses incurred by him in the compilation of "Prachin Bharatvarśa." The grains of truth are always sifted only after a great amount of research work, discussions, controversies and debates. His work certainly contains novel and startling theories. But all these theories deserve full attention and need not be disregarded as unacceptable simply because they are new.

Gujarati 20th Nov. 1938